

"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.  
They master us and force us into the arena,  
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.

# The Arena

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## NATIONALIZATION OF RAILWAYS IN SWITZERLAND.

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FOR FIFTY years Switzerland tried private ownership of railways, but with the dawn of the twentieth century the thoughtful Republic began to nationalize the roads and have now for several years had public ownership and operation of all the principal lines except the St. Gothard, which will be taken over in 1909, the government having already given notice of purchase to take effect at that time.

The policy of government ownership of railroads was decided upon by direct vote of the people in 1898. The question of national purchase of railways was twice voted upon under the popular referendum. In 1891 the vote was as follows:

For purchase .....	130,500
Against purchase .....	290,000
Majority against purchase .....	159,500

A little more than six years afterward, in February, 1898, the question of national ownership of railroads was again submitted with the following result:

For national purchase .....	384,382
Against purchase .....	176,511
Majority for public ownership .....	207,871

The change in six years from a two-thirds vote against public ownership to a two-thirds vote in favor of public ownership was due chiefly to a thorough discussion of the subject in the press and on the platform, and to a more complete and better considered plan for nationalizing the railroads backed up by a vigorous cabinet argument or "Message of the National Council to the Federal Assembly Concerning the Purchase of the Principal Lines of Swiss Railways" (March 25, 1897). Consul-General James F. Du Bois, in his report to the United States Government (February 21, 1898, *U. S. Consular Reports*, vol. 56, p. 584) says: "Never before in the history of the Republic has such a bitter contest been waged, and never before has the Government received such a large majority." The big majority for public ownership was a surprise even to the warmest friends of the measure. The *Züricher Post* said the next day: "The most audacious optimist had not the remotest idea of the possibility of this result; we anticipated only a majority of 50,000 in favor at the most."

What was it that convinced more than

two-thirds of the Swiss people that it would be best to nationalize the railways? Had they suffered from the abuses that mar our railroad history? Had the railroads dominated their governments, state and national, built up giant trusts and monopolies by discriminating rates and transportation favoritism, compelled the people to pay dividends on watered capital, and seriously disturbed the fair distribution of wealth? No; the most vital railroad abuses we suffer from were practically unknown in Switzerland. There was no fraudulent stock, no rebate system, no railroad lobby at the national capital. The best-informed authorities in the universities, and even Dr. Zemp, the Minister of Railways, never heard of a case of discrimination; and political corruption had been very rare.

Professor Borgeaud, one of the foremost authorities in Switzerland, was inclined to think, when I first put the question, that the railways had not been guilty of bribing legislators or exerting corrupt influence on legislation through lobbies or otherwise, a fact which is due, it is said, to the existence of the referendum, which makes it practically useless to spend money for corruption, since a moderate percentage of the people may demand a vote on the franchise or other measure and give the voters a chance to turn it down at the polls in spite of boodle legislation. Afterward, however, the professor called my attention to one case, "the only one he knew of," where the vote of the Canton of Vaud was necessary to the fusion of the Jura Berne and the Swiss Occidentale under the Simplon Company. The Canton owned a lot of the railway shares and nothing could be done without its vote. Vesser, a man of great political influence, was offered an option on a block of stock, if he would carry the measure. The offer was worth about 30,000 francs to him. He took it and carried the bill, which, apparently, was not against the public interest anyway. The bribe became known, and within three days Vesser had to resign

his office, a result "brought about by the moral pressure of his friends and the public and by the bombardment of the press, the papers of his own party joining in the attack."

The Government from early years had exerted a strong control over the railways. Under the law of July 28, 1852, charters were granted by the Cantons, but must be approved by the Federal Assembly. The railways must carry the mail, including the parcels-post, free of charge; also the "railway-post officers" and postal clerks must be transported free. Soldiers and accoutrements of war must be taken at one-half the lowest regular rates. Special regulation was left to the Cantons or States.

In 1872 the Bundesrat submitted a new law, with a report characterizing as "a specially great evil the inability of the individual Cantons to assert their authority against the greater railway companies," which had resulted in difficulties over the establishment of new lines or their transfer, the regulation of rates and time-tables, and "the arbitrary action of the companies in cases of liability."

The railway law of December 23, 1872, subjected rates to the complete control of the Federal Government, and opened to Federal inspection all acts and contracts relating thereto. A time-limit was placed on the corporate life granted in the charters, and franchise rights were made transferable only with Federal consent. Railways were required to submit a detailed and accurate account of the expense of construction. The Government reserved the right to order the establishment of stations, double tracks, and other facilities. The provisions as to free carriage of the mails were reenacted. An annual franchise tax in proportion to net profits was provided for, and many other important points were covered.

These and other laws that will be referred to, together with the repurchase provisions of the charters, held the railways pretty well in check as compared with ours.



Still there were plenty of reasons for the change to government ownership which seemed convincing to the Swiss. They believed that it would be better for the people to have the roads owned and operated by the public for the benefit of the public, than to have them owned and operated by private corporations for the benefit of private stockholders. The battle was fought on the broad principle of the superior social, economic and political value of public ownership of public utilities, as compared with private ownership even when honest and efficient. In the great discussion that filled the country to the brim, one of the winning strokes was the posting in the inns and public places all over the country the ringing words:

*"The Swiss Railways for the Swiss People."*

This became the motto of the movement with the common people and had much to do with the big vote of more than 2 to 1 in favor of the measure.

From the argument of the Message to the Federal Assembly already referred to, and from conversations with the heads of government departments, including Dr. Zemp, the author of the nationalization law and the first Minister of Railways under it, and Emile Frey, ex-President of the Republic and head of the International Bureau of Telegraphs and Telephones, and a large number of business and professional men in Geneva, Berne, Basle, and Lucerne, I condense the following statement of the main reasons that led to the nationalization of the railroads:

1. "The railways should be managed for the people, not for the profit of private owners." This point in varying forms was emphasized over and over again as the fundamental argument and the basis of the movement.

2. "The rates would be lower."

3. "The service would be better. The Government would be more occupied with the interests of the public than the company's."

4. "Considerable economies will be effected by the consolidation of the roads under public management."

5. "Unity of the system is essential to the best results, and the united system must not be subject to speculative management."

6. "The private operation of railways puts too much power in the hands of the managers."

7. "The Nation would be better able to open new lines where they are needed. The companies do not develop the out-districts. They have refused to build new railways to villages where they think the business may not pay, although there is great need for the roads."

8. "In their pursuit of dividends the companies have sometimes neglected proper repairs and precautions for safety, so that bad accidents have resulted."

9. "The Government will be more liberal with employes than the companies, as is shown by its treatment of the employes of the Government post and telegraph. It will adjust differences with employes in a better spirit, and we shall not have strikes of railway employes blocking our traffic."\*

10. "We do not want our railways owned by speculators, and especially we do not want our railway shares owned by foreign capitalists."

11. "The capital of the railways should

\*There had been a great strike on one of the railroads, the Swiss Northeast, in 1897, which helped to convince the trades unions of the necessity of public ownership. The men won the strike and got the increase of wages they demanded, but they did not like the attitude of the companies nor the methods they were compelled to resort to for the settlement of difficulties. Guyer Zeller, president of the Swiss Northeast, used his power despotically, and a large body of people were heartily sick of the high-handed arrogance of the Northeast management. This little experience of what a bad manager might do, and the inconvenience and injustice of the railway strike as a means of settlement convinced many beside the workmen that some better method than corporation management was necessary. I was told with great emphasis that "for two whole days the entire traffic of the Northeast Railroad was stopped, and the business of the public blocked." I wondered what these people would think of one of our giant strikes when business is blocked for weeks.

be gradually extinguished instead of being piled up, as the companies are doing. Provision has been made in Germany and Belgium for the amortization of the capital about the middle of the twentieth century, and the French railways are to come to the State free of debt about that time. We also must extinguish the capital charges on our railways, so that rates may be reduced as nearly as possible to the cost of operation."

12. "National ownership of the railways will tend also to a closer national unity. This is important, for by reason of differences of race, etc., the union of interests among our States is none too strong."

13. "The success of the German roads affords a strong example of the value of State ownership." "We are all convinced," said one of the foremost men in Switzerland, "that State management of railways has been a good thing for Germany."\*

The farmers were for nationalizing the railroads. They complained of inferior service and high rates on agricultural products. They objected to stock speculation and to the holding of Swiss railroad stock by foreign investors. Capitalists, not only in Switzerland but in Germany, Austria and France, speculated in Swiss securities, and the common people held, as stated to me by one of their leaders, that "financiers have no right to speculate with interests of a national character." The Farmers' Alliance was for the purchase, and the trades unions, including the powerful union of the railway employes, were for it. Several of the most prominent labor leaders of the country told me that fully three-fourths of the workmen voted for the law. Commercial and business

interests were largely for it, also, and the President of the Swiss Union of Commerce and Industry wrote a strong pamphlet in favor of it.

The opposition was mainly of two sorts, capitalistic and racial. The capitalistic opposition did not expend its strength wholly in argument. Tremendous pressure was brought to bear upon employes and others more or less dependent on the owners and managers of the railways and allies, to prevent the signing of petitions for the referendum and voting for the measure at the polls. The strongest adverse influence, however, was the opposition of the French-Swiss to any further additions to the power of the National Government. The French-Swiss constitute about one-third of the population and the German-Swiss two-thirds. Increase in the power of the central Government means an increase of German preponderance and awakens French opposition. The French also are naturally more individualistic and less inclined toward public enterprise than the Germans. In some of the smaller Cantons the objection to centralization was very strong even among the Germans because they feared it would increase the relative importance of the big Cantons, Berne and Zurich.

Party politics was practically eliminated from the discussion. Dr. Zemp, the leader of the Conservatives, joined with the Liberals in demanding the transfer of the railroads to public ownership, and the nationalization act was drawn by him and supported with all his power. So it was easy for Conservatives to join with the Liberals in voting for the law, and party prejudice was a very small factor in the result.

In the charters of the roads and the

\*Although the nationalization of railways in Prussia was most frequently referred to, the movement in other countries helped to convince the Swiss. Belgium after long trial of both public and private roads had adopted in 1870 the policy of State railways, and had made a decided success of it. Austria, which at one time sold its roads under the stress of financial need for military necessities, had

returned to State ownership, and by the law of December 14th, 1877, inaugurated a new epoch of State railways. States bordering Switzerland on the north—Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden—and other German States had successfully operated their railways for many years. All these things had their influence on Swiss thought.

general railroad law provision had been made for national purchase on giving three years' notice, and paying twenty-five times the average net profits for the ten years preceding the announcement of purchase, or the construction value, whichever rule produced the larger sum in any case, deduction being made for any sum necessary to bring the road up to standard condition. In anticipation of the possibility of national purchase, the Government had passed "accounting laws" in 1883 and 1896 subjecting the railway companies' accounts to rigid regulation and inspection, so that the books would show the real costs of construction and the real net profits justified by the earnings, instead of possible fictitious values. The consequence was that the Government was able to buy the roads at a fair price.

The total value for the five railway systems named in the Nationalization Act, at twenty-five times the average net profit for ten years, was \$189,735,000, and the construction cost down to May 1, 1903 (and May 1, 1909, for the St. Gothard), was estimated in the Message at \$197,911,000; or, excluding the St. Gothard, \$158,361,000. The total indemnities actually paid for the four railways now in Government possession was \$186,075,000, about twenty-eight millions more than the lowest preliminary estimates, and thirteen millions above the preliminary estimates excluding the question of depreciation. The claims in respect to that amounted to \$14,897,000. The difference between the preliminary estimate and the price paid was due to compromises in relation to the question of depreciation and to changes of condition through expenditures for new construction, etc., during the time between the estimate and the payment. The Jura-Simplon, for example, in the years from 1897 to 1903, down to which the construction cost had to be calculated, spent some 20,000,000 francs (including the subsidies from Italy, etc.) in tunneling the Simplon.

The indemnities do not appear excessive. Take the Jura-Simplon, for example, the road in respect to which far the greatest increase over the preliminary estimate took place. The Government report for 1902 shows that in December of that year the actual cost of the Jura-Simplon had been \$73,260,000, or \$1,210,000 more than the indemnity actually paid. The bonds amounted to \$51,230,000 and were assumed by the Government as they stood. In addition the Government paid \$20,820,000 in 3½ per cent. bonds. The stock of the company, December, 1902, was \$21,863,000, so that the shareholders got a little less than par. The stockholders of the North-east got 102, or a shade above par, for their shares, and the other roads, except the Central, also got a little less than par in 3½ per cent. bonds. Under the effective Federal regulation and inspection of accounts established by the Government the sum total of the stocks and bonds of the five companies was less than their cost, but this was not the case with the Central, whose stocks and bonds amounted to twenty-six millions (or nearly 20 per cent.) more than the construction account, January 1, 1897, and this construction account was itself regarded as too high. The profits of the Central had been so good that the indemnity valued at twenty-five times the average net profits amounted to considerably more than either the construction account or the total of stocks and bonds, so that the road received a very liberal compensation. The Government assumed its \$27,000,000 of debt and paid \$15,000,000 in 4 per cent. bonds for its 100,000 shares—\$150 a share (par value \$100). This gave the company a compensation which at 4 per cent. would yield the same income (6 per cent. on the face of the shares) that had been received by the stockholders on the average for the ten years preceding 1898. On the proposition of 1891 the Central shareholders would have received \$200 a share instead of the \$150 they did receive in 1901.

The Government dealt liberally with all the companies; did not insist on the full deductions it thought it had a right to, preferring to come to an amicable agreement rather than enforce at law the full measure or strict letter of its rights. Moreover, the nation got possession of the roads at an earlier date than would have been possible without an agreement, owing to the time-limits fixed for purchase in the charters.

The title to the Central and the North-east vested in the Government January 1, 1901. The former managers and employés were continued in place, and the roads were operated by the companies' staff on behalf of the State until January 1, 1902. Even when the State took the direct control as little change as possible was made in the staff or the ranks of employés. The Union was transferred January 1, 1902, and since then the Republic has operated directly the three systems: Central, Union, and Northeast. January 1, 1903, the Jura-Simplon passed into the possession of the State, and the four railway systems were coördinated into one, including nearly the whole of the primary railways in one Government system under direct management of the Republic.

The results of public ownership and operation have been most satisfactory to the Swiss people in general though not satisfactory in all respects to some corporation men and French, English and

American visitors who regard the matter from the corporation point-of-view and do not see anything much in a railway system but the dividends.\*

The Swiss management has not aimed at dividends but at service. It made large expenditures to put the lines in good condition and make the needful extensions. Most of the roads were single-track. The Government double-tracked all the important lines, rebuilt road-beds, tracks and stations, and put new cars and locomotives in place of a lot of old rolling-stock, which was sent to the junk heap. Train service was increased, wages were raised and rates were reduced, the Government taking the lowest rate in force on any road and making that the standard rate for all the roads.

The service on the Swiss railways will not compare favorably with ours; neither will their stores, farms or factories for the most part; but the Government railway service is better than the company service was in Switzerland. I studied the railways on the ground before they were transferred to public management, and I have just been through the country again and can testify to the great improvement that has taken place through the unification of the railway systems and reorganization and development of the service.

Local conditions make rates high in Switzerland. They are not so high as they were under the company régime,

\*Although considerable economies were effected in some directions, the large expenses above indicated have prevented the balance-sheet from having a pleasing appearance to one who has a craving for immediate profits. After two or three years more of necessary improvements and extensions the roads may make a favorable showing to the commercial eye as well as to the human eye. The financial results are already satisfactory to one who is not burdened with an appetite for monopoly profits. Interest on the bonds has been provided and more than \$330,000 has been set aside each year for the sinking fund that is to extinguish the capital in less than sixty years.

While discussing State railways a few months ago with Acworth, the great English railway writer, who is strongly opposed to public ownership, the conversation turned to Switzerland, and Acworth said: "Switzerland has made a mess of it."

"What are your reasons for that conclusion?" I asked.

"She paid more for the roads than she expected to. Then she lowered rates, raised wages, shortened hours, extended the lines and increased the staff, and spent large amounts on improvements. The consequence is that the financial showing is not as good as that made by the companies."

This seemed to me a correct statement of the facts, but considering the reasons for the less favorable balance-sheet, which the famous Englishman stated so clearly and concisely, I am not able to follow him to his conclusion that "Switzerland has made a mess of it." If the sacrifice of profit for a few years in order to lower rates, extend lines, improve the service and elevate labor conditions, is "making a mess of it," there are several people in America who would like to have a similar mess made in our railroad field.



but higher than the rates in most other countries because of the short hauls, high grades, light traffic and other adverse circumstances. The average ton-mile freight rate was 2.84 cents under the companies just before the transfer. The rate just given me by the Railway Minister is 2.56 cents. These rates seem very high compared with our average ton-mile rate but it must be remembered that they include the express; that Switzerland is a nest of mountains; that the soil is poor, the resources small and the traffic light, and that there are no rebates or secret rates in Switzerland to cut down the average rate.

The average passenger rate was 1.54 cents a mile under company management and 1.35 cents under public management. The third-class rates, on which about nine-tenths of the people ride, average only a shade over a cent a mile (1.12 cents). Commutation tickets are sold for  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a cent a mile third-class, and tickets for workingmen and school-children are  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a cent a mile (1 cent a mile second-class and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cents if you want to go first-class, which is entirely unnecessary, as the other cars are very comfortable). Circular tickets are sold at low rates for touring the country. Monthly tickets can be had allowing you to travel without limit on any of the railways of Switzerland at \$11 third-class, \$15 second and \$22 first. For a six months' ticket you pay \$45, \$59 or \$104, according to class. If you used your ticket pretty steadily you could, on day-trips alone, travel for a tenth of a cent a mile on the monthly, and less than that on the semi-annual.

The principles followed in making rates are the same as those on which the best company systems base their rates except in one respect—the rates are made for public service, not for private profit. Distance and cost form the foundation of the rate system, upon which such special adaptations are erected as may be required to meet the needs of commerce, agriculture and industry, and con-

form to the value, bulk and other conditions of the traffic, aid education and the working-classes, and facilitate social and business intercourse.

Perhaps the most interesting and important of all the changes made in connection with the nationalization of railways in Switzerland is the establishment of a system of administration that guarantees the independence of the roads and protects them from every political influence. For this purpose the railway management was placed in a general directory of five or seven members, and five circuit or division directories of three members each, and along with these executive bodies the law established deliberative councils representing general public and commercial interests. The "administrative council" is a national board of directors for the railways elected by the States, and the circuit councils represent agriculture, trade, and industry and the general public interest. This system has worked excellently. The railway administration is absolutely free from the taint of party politics, and the roads are operated on sound economic principles for the benefit of the whole community.

The people of Switzerland have the railways in their own hands in a triple way. 1. Through the operation of the roads by their own agents and managers. 2. Through the supervisory, advisory and regulative powers of the councils representing national and state interests, agriculture, commerce and manufactures. 3. Through the general supervision and legislative control of the regular Government elected by all the people. And back of it all is the splendid power afforded by the initiative and referendum which permits any question that may arise to be called before the people themselves for direct and final decision at the polls.

The leading lessons of Swiss railroad history are:

1. That it is entirely practicable to put the administration of the railroads above

party politics and secure their efficient management as coöperative business enterprises. The railways of the United States are private property and are in politics up to the neck. The railways of Switzerland are public property and are not in politics at all.

2. That there may be ample reason for the nationalization of railways, even

where there is no stock-watering or discrimination or railroad lobby.

3. That the extension to national affairs of the referendum principle which is the heart of our famous New England town-meeting system makes it very easy to nationalize the railways or accomplish any other purpose the people may desire.

Boston, Mass.

FRANK PARSONS.

## CHILD-LABOR.

BY ELINOR H. STOR.

IN THE University Library at Berkeley, California, is a piece of statuary representing Liberty breaking the chains that bind the limbs of a kneeling negro child. It is a striking thing, but I said as I stood looking at it the other day, "O, Liberty! you have not yet done all there is to do, while there are two million white children in the United States working in mines, mills, factories, stores, saloons, in every branch of trade, threading the streets through the long hours of the days and nights, and living under conditions that are foul, unsanitary and degrading, in a bondage more bitter, and fraught with far more baleful influences in the life of the nation than any black bondage that ever existed."

The life of the little negro children was free, and they were fed, housed, clothed, —there was for them no anxious care about to-morrow. The black children were never *put out* to work under such conditions as we find among the white children who toil in these mills, mines and factories, as is done with these children in the great cities of our christian land. This opening twentieth century, rich as it is in the heritage of the century just gone, finds us in the midst of the most abject slavery of white children—slaves in the power of greed and selfishness intrenched in "Vested Rights," and exacting a blood tribute from the

weak and helpless. Call not one Lincoln, O, Liberty! but many Lincolns to your side to help all together to make this Union a true "union of all who love in the service of all who suffer," in the safeguarding of these little ones who are the future of our Country. Free the children with that freedom which is guaranteed to all, give them their rights to "Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

A young man wrote to Lincoln asking for advice about organizing a political club. The answer which came back is exceedingly apropos to our own time and its needs. "All get together, let everyone do something—the thing he can do best. Some rent a hall, some attend to the lighting, some speak, some sing, and holler! everybody holler!" Here is the work all cut out—"Everybody holler!" It needs perhaps, but that the meanest of us should say, "Either I must do this thing or none will," and the face of the world would be changed.

Two causes are daily increasing the importance of the study of child-labor in the United States: one the growing number of children who work, beginning at the age of infancy, the other the growing conception of the value of the child as an individual. It was said during the Civil war that in order to swell the ranks of the army "they robbed the cradle and

the grave." It looks as though something of the same kind might be in operation to-day, in order to satisfy an unnatural greed, when one reads that in New York a child only eighteen months old has been found at work that its mother might add fifty cents more a week to her wages. (This was confirmed by Dr. Daniels, of the New York infirmary for women and children, who said that a child one year and a half old had been brought in for treatment.) After some days the mother came and took the child away, saying she needed it to help her in her work. She made *passementerie* trimmings, and the child rolled tiny balls of paste to which the mother attached the beads for a variety of trimmings used in the millinery and dressmaking trades.

The small hands of children who are only three, four and up to eight years of age, are making violets, roses and other artificial flowers, in places that are a constant menace to public health and this is also true in the manufacture of all kinds of articles from hair ornaments to baby clothes, in the same rooms with diphtheria, tuberculosis, small-pox, scarlet fever,—all contagious diseases. Tired children these,—with weary bodies and aching heads—working far into the night, and all day on Saturday and Sunday! The result of this—arrested development,—incapacitated minds,—diseased bodies,—bad morals: the gift of child-labor to our nation.

Women and children have been found living in basements, keeping soul and body together by folding paper-bags,—from one hundred thousand to one hundred and fifty thousand a week, and the price for this work dropping from seven cents down to four cents a thousand! Little girls are at work in sweat-shops who ought to be in the kindergarten; they are pulling basting threads and sewing on buttons. Juliet Tompkins says that last summer a party of Americans traveling in Italy were aghast at the sight of a child of six, plodding steadily between a small quarry and an unfinished

house, bearing upon her head with each trip, a stone weighing not less than twenty-five pounds. The child could not lift it alone, but some one would poise it for her, and some one else would take it off at the other end of the line. The face under the stone was grave and uncomplaining, all expression of child-life was lacking; the back showed a deep incurve. The Americans exclaimed indignantly, and were full of protest. "You don't see such things as that in America, thank God! A child cannot be treated like that there!"

Not long ago a child of six walked down an avenue in one of our great cities, carrying on her head a load of sweat-shop pants weighing not less than twenty-five pounds. She had to walk a long distance to reach the tenement she called home, climb four flights of stairs, and then her work was just beginning, where the light was dim, and the poverty of her surroundings unspeakable. She trudged back and forth many times in the week, but no one had noticed her, no one had been horrified! There was no expression of public indignation. Children *can* be "treated like that in America" and the poor children are not complaining. To whom shall they complain? For it is only here and there that a heart is touched when it beholds the pathos, the tragedy of this waste of child-life, who see in these stunted, dwarfed, deformed "Images ye have made of me," a menace and a scourge ever more threatening,—dollars turned into disease and crime. Since 1903 there has been some attempt to stir public sentiment to secure better laws, or to enforce those already in existence, but every and any attempt for betterment finds the greatest obstacles in the indifference or ignorance of the public mind, or in the downright opposition of private interest, and the slow growth of civic consciousness to the extent of this evil system, built upon the shoulders of these little children.

The Federation of Women's Clubs has taken up child-labor. The Consumers'

League has made it their definite work, and the Child-Labor Committee, organized last year in New York city, stands sponsor for the twenty-nine million children under sixteen years of age, who are in need of such protection, educationally, industrially, physically and morally. The chief purpose of this Child-Labor Committee is to develop a national sentiment for the protection of children, and to make the power of public opinion felt in all localities. This organization realizes that child-labor is the mortgaging beyond redemption, the health, both in a moral and a physical way, of generations yet unborn, and that this is not a question of sectional, but of national importance; for while the proportion of child over adult-labor is large in the South, in the aggregate it is greater in the North. In both, it represents children not as individuals, but as dividends! The Italian Consul in looking into conditions as they related to the Italian laborers in New Jersey, found women and children living in absolute poverty and slavery. In the glass works, there are children, some as young as six years,—others eight and ten,—working, or rather being worked under the most shocking conditions. In the woolen mills he found two hundred children under legal age. The employers said they had met the legal demands, which was manifestly untrue, for the children were but little more than babies; and yet they were worked the long hours which tax the endurance of men.

Jane Welch has told of seeing children bright and precocious taken from school at the age of eight and ten years and put to work in order that thirty or forty cents a week might be added to the wages of parent or guardian. These wretched little ones spent their nights and days carrying pails of water on their heads, shearing fag ends off glass bottles, carrying bottles and chimneys from white-heated ovens, until every vestige of childhood was wiped out. There were no childish voices, no quick ears, no keen eyes; they were stamped with animalism.

Mr. Peixotto says this is true in San Francisco. When the Consul remonstrated with parents, he was met with, "But we must all work or we shall all starve together."

Bishop McVicker, of Rhode Island, said, that when a class came before him for confirmation he noticed their small size and puny appearance. They seemed rather young to be confirmed, but the minister to whom he spoke said: "It was not because they were so young, but because they had had no chance to grow." A visitor to the coal-breakers where children are worked, gets this apology from the superintendent or foreman; not for facts which make you ashamed of your race—not for the destruction of child-life, but,—“It’s a pretty bad place for your good clothes!”

In a large Western mill a small girl was seen by a visitor bending over a machine, face flushed, arms flying, every nerve quivering, working at top speed; she was earning seven dollars a week on piece-work. The visitor asked, "What will she be earning five years from now?" "Oh," said the superintendent, "I presume we shall have another girl by that time!" We all presume so. Said another mill-man where they employ young children, "Look into the faces of these boys and you will see they are not fitted for anything else. You must be careful how you play the part of providence to people born to another kind of life. I shall oppose every effort made for improved legislation." Another reason given by child-labor employers is that these little fellows are so nimble with their fingers, and know how to take care of themselves; and the fact that a boy of twelve, working for fifty cents or sixty cents a day, can do as much or more, that is, in some parts of glass factories, and in coal mines than a man who would be paid one dollar a day—explains quite clearly this callous and inhuman attitude of the employer.

Mrs. Van Vorst says that she got this *why* from the wife of a wealthy cotton-



mill employer, when she (Mrs. Van Vorst) suggested that better things might be done for these Southern children than to keep them at work in the mills; that they might be freed from night work, and given schools and holidays and some recreation. "Yes, it might be done," was the reply, "by concerted action; but for my husband alone, it would be ruin!" "Not ruin, but a reduction," suggested Mrs. Van Vorst. "No, ruin!" was the answer flashed back. "To compete we must have our sixty-six hours a week!" And it is upon such a system of dishonor, dishonesty and lies that child-labor is built. For deaf is the ear to this bitter cry, and blind their eyes to this degradation wrought by their own hands—and yet, "A child's sob in the silence curses deeper than a strong man in his wrath."

In the textile mills the statistics show that as the number of women and children who work, has increased, the number of men has steadily decreased, and wages have gone lower and lower. Cotton cloth, violets, roses, ornaments, bottles, tobacco—every trade becomes a tragedy, and shows us pictures of little children who do not know how to laugh or play. The peril is that child-labor is so deeply rooted already. Legislation is imperative; its stringent enforcement an absolute necessity. There are laws in the industrial states—fourteen years being the rule; but their lax interpretation is notorious. In many cases the law is made to be but a screen, and this wrong done to childhood does not call for half-hearted interest, or shuddery sentimentality. It calls for action! Free the children! is the clear command of sound common-sense, as well as humanity. Stunted bodies, deterioration in morals and mentality, is the curse which follows the failure to protect the children, and furnishes the army of idiots, indigents, incapables and criminals, who become a drain upon the nation's very life. Does it pay?

The National Suffrage Association, at its last meeting, laid its chief emphasis

upon this waste of children. Emerson defines Civilization as "The power of good women to create public opinion." And any effort that good women can make is a powerful aid; but while they discussed this child-problem, the greatest of all problems, by day, and while they are sleeping by night, it is still calling for solution. The premature use of the child is the destruction of the future citizen. This traffic in child-labor is an evil for which we as a nation are directly responsible. Not less than eighty thousand children—mostly little girls—are employed in the textile mills, where a twelve-hour day is the almost universal rule. Mrs. McFadden, Jane Addams and Mrs. Van Vorst, have seen little children at work at half past ten at night, who were so young they did not know their own ages. In these fine mills in South Carolina they found little girls four or five years old at work in the spinning room. Think, if you can, of a little girl only eight years old, so small that she has to stand on a stool to reach her work, running a speeder which has to be replenished and kept in motion at the same time. She has also to clean and oil the machinery by climbing under it at the risk of her life and limbs. It is no uncommon occurrence for a child's hand or arm to be caught and crushed to a pulp. In the spinning-room the hair of the children was white with lint from the frames. They did not know how old they were, but a girl standing near said some of them were five, some seven. A beautiful girl with big gray eyes and hectic cheeks, told Mrs. McFadden that she was eight, and added, "I have only worked one year." Think of it! The long hours of night toil, where these little babies fall asleep at their tasks, and are awakened by having cold water dashed upon them. Not a moment spared for sleep or food, no cessation of the maddening racket of the machinery, the foul air and hideous heat breeding disease, swollen glands and a horrible form of dropsy prevailing. A physician who had made a special study

of child-labor, says that ten per cent. of those who work in these mills contract consumption. The flying lint forms an excellent cultivating medium for tuberculosis; the close atmosphere and stifling heat and the other extreme, the chill night air, develop pneumonia and consumption follows quite naturally, which justifies the statement of the woman who said, "I suddenly never did see such a place for dyin'! I reckon there's a funeral every day."

The number of accidents, the danger to life and limb is appalling. Tired with the long hours, dazed with the noise and loss of sleep, is it any wonder they grow careless of danger from belts and bands? One doctor, and there is testimony from many others, said that he had personally amputated more than one hundred fingers belonging to baby hands. A cotton merchant said that he had frequently seen children with fingers, thumbs and sometimes the whole hand gone, and this crime goes on. Children are literally being fed to machinery in mill, mine and factory; in glass works they are brutalized, in tobacco factories they fall fainting, poisoned by the strong odor of the tobacco. There are children in the coal mines of Pennsylvania and other coal-producing states, where the law says that fourteen years shall be the legal age at which a child may be given work; but we find them as young as six everywhere. Mill and mine compete with the school for the children. Certificates produced by the employers show that, as one of them said with a laugh, "All these kids must have been born on the same day; they are always exactly fourteen." Their real ages are far below the requirements of the law, which is violated over and over. On these breakers where the boys are employed the dust rises in clouds that hover over the buildings long after the day's work is done, and so darkens the place where they work that they wear miners' lamps in their caps to enable them to see the coal at their feet. Pathetic little figures, nine, ten, eleven and twelve—

bending over their tasks with aching backs, and hands cut and bleeding, they must learn to control the nausea caused by the thick dust which coats the lining of throat and lungs, and later on results in tuberculosis and miners' asthma.

If, in a moment of forgetfulness, the natural tendency of children to play crops out, the boss is behind them to strike them with stick or stone and stop such unbusiness-like recreation. Here children sprag cars and tend the chutes, but no record is kept of the number killed or maimed for life. There are five hundred and eighty thousand American children in the United States who can neither read nor write! One fine young fellow of eighteen said in a shamefaced way: "I can't read; I have been working ever since I was seven." This, in Pennsylvania is the usual thing. Everywhere in the competition between the school and employer—the employer wins.

In North Carolina there are fifteen thousand children at work in the mills, with wages decreased from thirty-two cents to twenty-nine cents a day. Twenty-five per cent. of the children of school age do not attend school. There is no legal protection whatever in some states. If the father choose, he may spend his time in idleness and in the saloons, living upon the scanty wages of his wife and children. Another bitter cry of the children against this parasitic system which preys upon the weak and the helpless. Where is their compensation for the injury done them—this monstrous injury—when the pay received for the child's labor is not enough to even feed him properly? The trades are growing, and the prosperity of the employer, too, is increasing; but it is upon the nation's most valuable asset, the children, who are stifled in mental growth and life is balked of its purpose; for if, as Burbank says, it is true in plant-life that "Weeds are weeds because they are jostled, cropped, trampled on, scorched by fierce heat, chilled with cold, starved for lack of proper nourishment," and if there is not a

weed alive that will not sooner or later respond liberally to good cultivation and persistent selection, why may we not hope as much from these child-weeds, who are foul-mouthed, profane, vicious and brutish because they have been "scorched, jostled, and trampled on"? Within them are all possibilities, for Jacob Riis says, and truly, "They are all God's children." This waste is unnecessary and unnatural, and an awful indictment when the frail energies of infants are used in the accumulation of wealth.

"Christ is our City,  
Keep us in pity,  
And our faces heavenward  
Lest we grow hard,"

Lest we forget these little ones, "God's children," who have the door of every opportunity shut in their faces, who are robbed of the hope, the aspiration, the "Uplooking and the light," which is theirs by right divine.

I would speak particularly of the messenger boys and the newsboys, for we have them here on our streets, and we also have young, very young, criminals in our city prisons and courts. We have forty-two thousand messenger boys in the United States, and many thousands of newsboys working under conditions and in environments so bad morally that the uniform has grown to be oftentimes a badge of dishonesty, graft, untruthfulness and a general lack of character. The hours are very long—longest at Christmas-time and Easter! At Christmas-time and Easter! What good-will, what thought of new life and hope springs up in the heart of the average messenger boy as these seasons come round? To him it only is more hurry-up, longer hours, less time to eat and sleep. Children have been found frozen to death on delivery wagons; they have been found—hundreds of them—under fourteen, working unlimited hours, "on duty continually for twenty, thirty, forty, and even seventy-five hours," their only sleep snatched on wooden benches in the office. They have been found paralyzed from over-

work. There are places to which boys of sixteen may not go. These are the places, where, so good people say, the Pariahs of society live; where the door closes upon decency and purity; but these tiny, tiny messengers know the "tenderloin" as we know the faces of those we love, or the streets upon which we live; where friendly invitations to eat and drink, presents and bribes from the easy-going who live here, quickly gain the good-will of the boys, for it is a common saying, "You can get a messenger boy to do anything for you if you pay him enough," "not to let the right eye tell what the left eye sees," as Thomas Lawson has so cynically put it. He takes tips on races and knows all other forms of gambling. It is notorious that these boys in street trades develop that mania. Another gift of the child-labor system!

The rush and excitement stimulate the lower nature with most disastrous results. A physician has said that the messenger service is best suited to feeble-minded men, and he added, "I can supply all they need."

Let us free the children from these vicious surroundings, from these late and long hours which cannot but produce moral as well as physical wrecks. Let us give them a showing in this mad rush we call life, to learn its better side. To us character is the cornerstone of all true success. Why not for them? I might go on giving statistics and showing you "Facts dressed in tights," as Mark Twain says; but one cannot put tired eyes, pallid cheeks and the languid limbs of children of five and six, in mill, mine and factory, into figures. I wish I could, for they are figures you hear and see, not the human units which make them, else we should never forget the sight of these wee toilers working ten, twelve, even thirteen and fourteen hours a day for a mere pittance, in a country which has established in its industries an eight-hour rule for men, North, South, East and West. It is a shame to our civilization and a crime against humanity!

A visitor to one of the large textile mills chanced to say that it was his birthday. "I am forty-two years old to-day." A tired, hollow-eyed child standing near him said, drawing a long breath, "My! but I should think you 'd be awful tired of living!" Think of that from the lips of a little six-year-old child! Victor Hugo said he had seen the suffering of men and women, but until he saw the suffering of children, he knew not the awful meaning of that word! A picture, just a picture I saw one day in an illustrated paper in a Broadway window, keeps itself before my eyes. I want to show it to you. It is a wild, wintry day. The street is piled deep with snow. In the foreground is an elegant carriage. The groom is holding the door open that a woman, young, beautiful and richly-dressed may enter. In her arms, cuddled up safe and warm is a dog, an aristocratic, bewashed, beribboned, long-eared, hand-tooled affair in the dog line. Near by is a tiny newsboy, with ragged clothes fluttering in the fierce wind, worn shoes through which show the naked little feet, face pinched and wan with suffering, eyes wistful as he looks at the wealth and comfort of the fortunates, and he is saying,—every bit of him is saying,—as he clutches his bundle of papers tighter, "I wisht I was a dog." Must not this wish find utterance oftentimes on the lips of the little white slaves who toil in the mills, mines and factories, and on the streets through long hours of days and nights, as wretched and forlorn as he?

Is there not a social responsibility somewhere? Aye! coming closer—an individual responsibility. May Mary Livermore's prayer find an echo in our hearts. "If it is to be a question of supremacy of freedom or slavery, I pray God it may be settled now, and not left to our children, and Oh, may I be a hand, a foot, a voice, an influence in this cause of freedom and my country!" It is a cause which has its claim upon humanity. A claim of justice and mercy. It is a claim which is up for settlement, it will

have to be paid sometime and with accruing interest, and in a way of which those who look ahead do not even like to think. It is a claim of children who fall fainting in the streets and in the school-rooms, from starvation, though they work, while dogs are fed and cared for with a tender solicitude which these little ones never know. A claim of the children who do not know happy hours or play-time, even as voiced by a tot of four or five, "I used to play when I was young!" A claim of the five hundred and eighty thousand American children who do not know how to read or write! A claim upon the mother-heart of our Country. If it were your child? Upon the chivalry of the men in defense of the weak and helpless little ones. The benefactors of the human race are those who have thought high thoughts about it, and have crystallized those thoughts into high and noble deeds. Great reforms have come by each doing his part with a consecrated purpose; such as Lord Shaftesbury on behalf of the enslaved women and children of England; John Howard and Elizabeth Frye bringing about a reformation in the treatment of prisoners; Pinel braving ostracism, ridicule and hostility to prove that humane treatment would work wonders in the cure of insanity. Jacob Riis, Josephine Lowell, Jane Adams and others whose names you know. A mere handful it is true, where so many are needed to help do what they can to better the condition of these infant toilers whose fate is precisely that same bitter bondage of the children of fifty years ago, when Lord Shaftesbury did his part, and over one hundred years after Democracy defined its principles of "Equal rights to all, and special privileges to none."

Let us take a step onward toward "That divine, far-off event, which we sing about and talk about, but do not to any extent work about," when shall be set over against that old doctrine of Cain, "Everybody for himself and the devil take the hindmost," this, "All for each and each for all!"



There is a great painting by an Italian master, who died before the picture was finished. It was taken and completed by his pupil, and bears this inscription: "The work that Titian left unfinished, Palma reverently completed and dedicated to God."

The work for freedom was left unfin-

ished. Let us reverently complete it and dedicate it to God—this work for his children—and so shall come into these barren lives, "the tender grace, not of a day that is dead, but of a day yet to be born, with the Golden Rule grown natural."

ELINOR H. STOR.

Oakland, Cal.

## WILLIAM WHEELWRIGHT: THE YANKEE PIONEER OF MODERN INDUSTRY IN SOUTH AMERICA.

BY PROF. FREDERIC M. NOA.

### PART I.

IN THE enterprising City of Valparaiso, the chief commercial port of the progressive Republic of Chile, there is a beautiful statue to the memory of William Wheelwright, the modest and fearless Yankee pioneer of modern peaceful commerce, industry and enlightenment in South America. The name of this great benefactor of humanity, who, as we shall presently see, wrought a wonderful revolution of peace, is a beloved household word throughout Spanish and Portuguese-speaking America, but, as yet, his own state Massachusetts and his own native country the United States have almost forgotten that he, one of the greatest of Americans, ever existed, and no stately national monument has ever been erected "in the land of the brave and the free," in recognition of his transcendent merits.

William Wheelwright was born in Newburyport, Massachusetts, March 16, 1798. He inherited, from a long line of ancestors, those sterling qualities of deep religious intensity, lofty ideals, undeviating purity of character, and inflexible devotion to principle and duty which have made the Puritans of Great Britain and America such a tremendously regenerative, vital force in the history of the world. Far back in 1636, soon after the settle-

ment of Newbury, his ancestor the Rev. John Wheelwright sought religious freedom in New England, but found no tolerance in Boston, as he had become an advocate of the heresies of Anne Hutchinson, and was accordingly disfranchised and banished from the colony by the General Court. Subsequently, he was allowed to return, and settled in Salisbury, Massachusetts, where he died in 1679. His descendants were men and women of strong, rugged character, who lived in various parts of Maine, New Hampshire and Massachusetts, and, by their industrious, well-regulated lives, contributed, with unassuming simplicity, towards the upbuilding of the communities in which they dwelt. Some of them were teachers, others shipmasters, and not a few rendered valuable military service in the various wars of New England against the French and Indians of Canada.

When, at length, the Thirteen United Colonies of North America, from Maine to Georgia, revolted from the tyranny of George III. and the British Parliament, and declared their independence in 1776, Abraham Wheelwright, of Newburyport, Massachusetts, the uncle of William, the future industrial regenerator of South America, rendered important services to the patriots. He saw service in the Continental Army under Captain Enoch Putnam, assisted in the fortification of

Dorchester Heights, crossed the Delaware with the Northern Army under Washington, aided in the capture of the Hessians, took part in the battle of Princeton, and February 15, 1777, was discharged from service. His restless energy led him, however, to engage as a privateersman, on his own account, on the high seas, and many were the adventures he encountered, being more than once captured and imprisoned by the British, but finally escaping back to America.

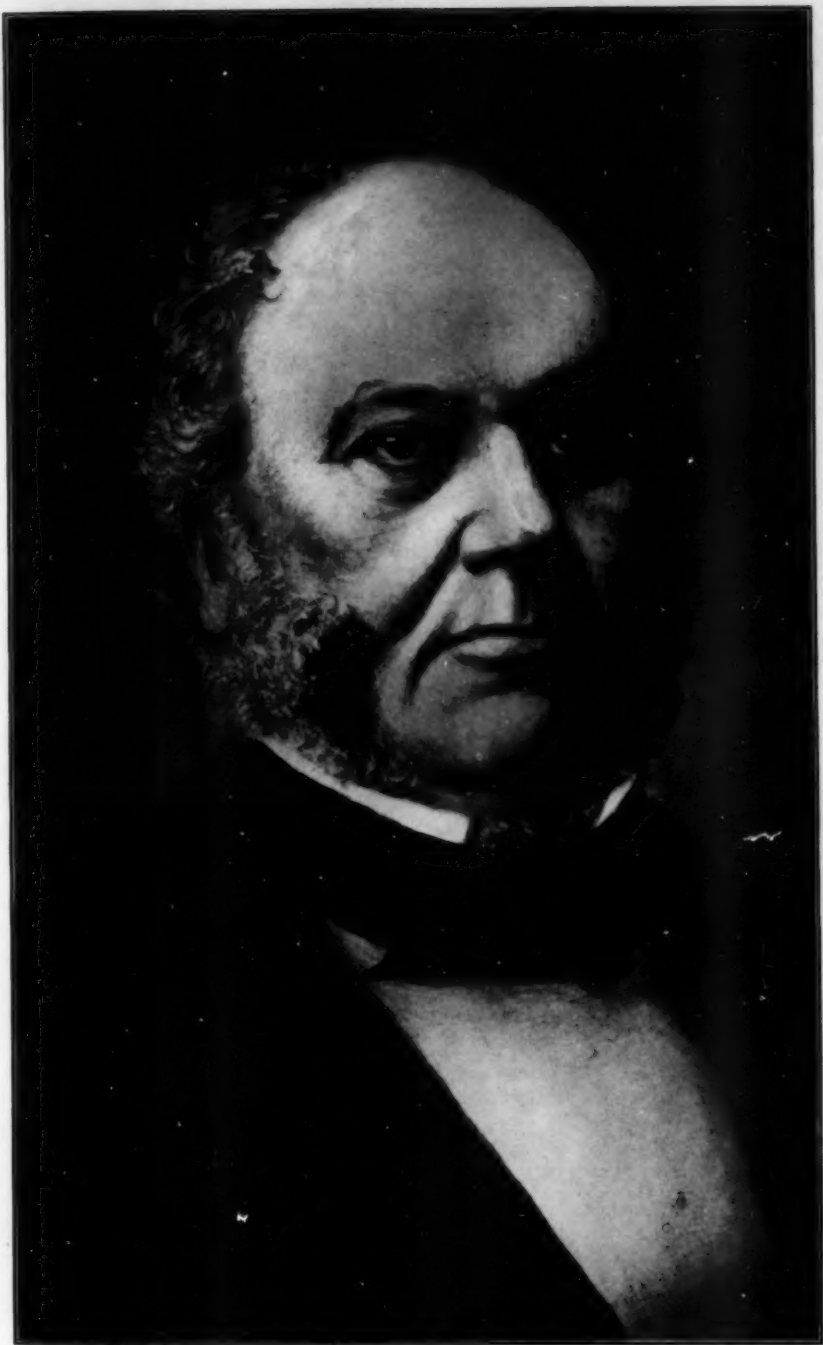
After the war, in partnership with his brother Ebenezer, he established a large and profitable business with the West Indies. He died April 19, 1852, at the advanced age of ninety-five.

From the foregoing, it will be seen from what sturdy stock William, destined to be the most illustrious of all his family, sprang. His father, Ebenezer, a shipmaster in his early life, was a man of intense earnestness and his mother Anna (Coombs) Wheelwright possessed the highly practical yet religious nature of her Puritan ancestors.

The environment surrounding young William Wheelwright, from his earliest infancy, was well fitted for preparing him for his future career. He passed his boyhood in the fine house, on the commanding hill of the "Old Indian Ridge," on High street, Newburyport, built, two years after his birth, by his father, in 1800, but now remodeled and occupied by the Hon. John James Currier, the local historian. Here, in those early days, could be seen a wide, unobstructed view of the Parker river, with the wharves and warehouses and vessels of the growing and thriving port on its right bank, the thick woods of Amesbury and Salisbury, on its farther bank, and the Atlantic in the distant east, Parker river being really the mouth of the Merrimack and a narrow arm of the ocean itself. Behind the house southward and westward, stretched a wide sweep of hills and valleys, still, in our own time, retaining much of the charm and loveliness of the primeval wilderness.

The Newburyport of Wheelwright's boyhood days vied with Boston and Salem as a commercial port, in spite of a sandbar which blocks its free access to the sea. Its substantial merchants carried on an extensive trade with Mexico, South America and the West Indies, and were the owners, captains, and not infrequently, builders of the compact sailing-ships with which they braved the terrors of the deep, not a few of these staunch vessels, of from five hundred to a thousand tons, being wrecked in tempests of the ocean and never being heard of again. Although Newburyport has completely changed its industrial activities and is now chiefly a shoe city and imports quite large amounts of coal from Philadelphia, the warehouses of the old international maritime port are yet standing on the water-front, and one may see high spacious rooms in them, twenty feet square. In the lower part of the city, there are many straight, narrow, yet scrupulously clean streets, with peaked, gable and projecting-roofed houses, both externally and in their interiors carrying the mind back, long before the American Revolution, to the British colonial *régime*. In the upper part of Newburyport are broad avenues shaded on both sides by noble trees, and where quite a number of large houses, the homes of its long-deceased merchant-princes, may be seen, with their antique furniture, their landscape wall-paper, and their high rooms, with five to six windows apiece. On every hand, there are reminders of the old days of shipmasters and sea captains when the town was an important *entrepôt* of international commerce.

Newburyport, although one of the lesser cities of New England, has always enjoyed a deserved reputation for the exceptional public spirit of its inhabitants. Its cemeteries contain the names of the Danas, Pillsburys and those of other families who have furnished philanthropists, statesmen, heroes, lawyers, journalists and captains of industry who have notably contributed towards making the



WILLIAM WHEELWRIGHT

This photograph is taken from the oil painting in the office of Mr. James E. Whitney, Boston, from a negative courteously loaned by Mr. John W. Winder, of Newburyport, Massachusetts, Secretary of The William Wheelwright Scientific School Fund.

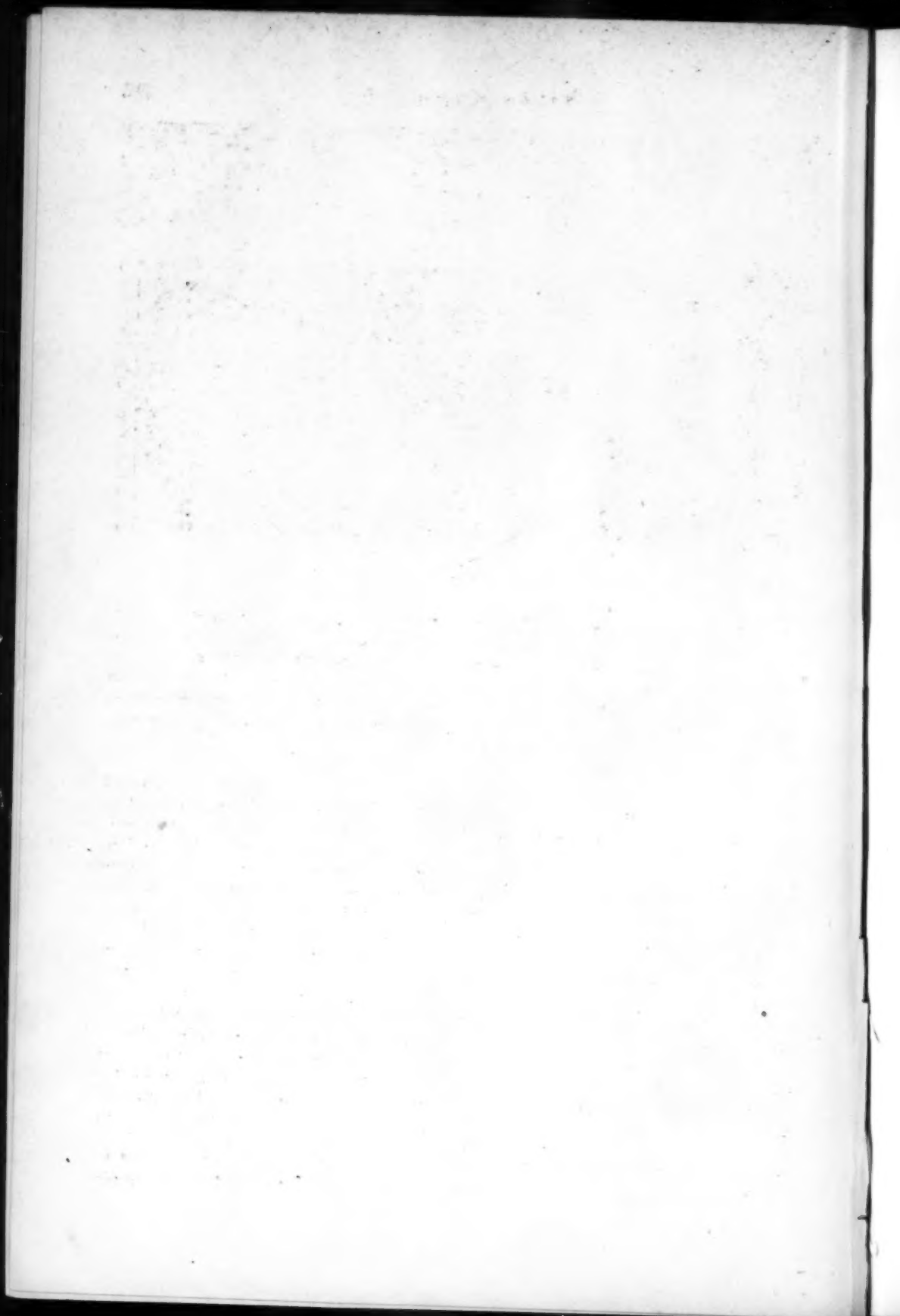






Photo. by Reed, Newburyport, Mass.

WATER-FRONT OF NEWBURYPORT, MASSACHUSETTS.

United States the splendid and great republic which it has become. Locally, Newburyport is indebted to Captain Bromfield for the beautiful broad avenues of elm and other trees that impart a special charm to her best quarter, as he left a special fund to be perpetually devoted to that beneficent purpose. One of the noblest, however, of all Newburyport's sons is William Wheelwright's contemporary, the elder William Lloyd Garrison, born December 10, 1805, whose unswerving devotion to the principle of equal rights made him face mob violence, persecution and ostracism until he had awakened the deadened conscience of the American people, broken the shackles of millions of human beings, and rendered forever impossible the continuance of the curse of African and negro slavery. He died in 1879.

The influence and example of Garrison, the Liberator, doubtless helped to mould the character of William Wheelwright, no less an emancipator of millions of his fellow-creatures, who successfully implanted modern enlightenment and civilization in the vast Latin-American

continent, from the Rio Grande of Texas and Mexico to Cape Horn, at the extreme southern extremity of South America. Fortunately, this latter revolution was peaceful and was accomplished without the shedding of a single drop of human blood.

Young William early developed such a strong love of the sea that his parents wisely directed his natural bent. With their consent, he shipped as a cabin boy on a vessel bound for the West Indies, and in three years rose rapidly through all the grades, until he became a captain in 1817, at the age of only nineteen years. He had previously passed through the experience of a shipwreck in the Bahamas, the ship taking fire and all on board having a narrow escape with their lives. The leaky boat in which they embarked had to be bailed out with their hats. Wheelwright, on this occasion, very nearly lost his life in saving a drowning, intoxicated sailor. On reaching shore, they traveled a long distance through the tall grass, until they came to a plantation, where they were kindly cared for. A second voyage to the West Indies was hardly



Photo. by Reed, Newburyport, Mass.

#### THE WHEELWRIGHT HOUSE

On the famous "Old Indian Ridge," High street, Newburyport, Massachusetts, in which William Wheelwright passed his boyhood. The house was originally built in 1800 by Ebenezer Wheelwright, the father of William. It is now occupied by the Hon. John James Currier, the author of "Auld Newbury" and the local historian of Newburyport.

more fortunate: he was taken ill and barely escaped with his life. It was only in 1817 that he had his first prosperous voyage, as captain of a bark bound for Rio de Janeiro. On the return trip, he was viciously attacked and nearly assassinated in his berth by a mutinous sailor, and scarcely escaped with his life, his assailant being overpowered with the aid of the mate. On another occasion, an ever-vigilant Providence preserved him for his future great work of redemption in South America, through a summons from his father, which prevented him from embarking in the ship "Pilgrim," some of the officers of which were his friends, and which, sailing for her destination, was never heard from again.

The critical turn which determines the controlling destiny and dominant career of every remarkable character occurred in Wheelwright's case in 1823, at the age of twenty-five. It was in that year that William Bartlet, Esq., a famous merchant

of the period, placed him in command of the ship "Rising Star" bound from Newburyport for Buenos Ayres. When, after a long passage, this sailing vessel reached the mouth of the broad estuary of the river La Plata, it stranded on what is known as the Ortiz bank and became a total loss. The crew, with the exception of one man, succeeded, after desperate rowing, for a day and night, in saving themselves, and made their way to a settlement of Indians, whose good-will they secured by offering some of the muskets which they had saved from the wreck. It was no fault of the youthful but dauntless captain that the ship had been destroyed, and the owner, Mr. Bartlet, offered him another vessel if he would return. Our hero, however, perceived that he had a mission to perform in South America, on the Atlantic and South Temperate shore of which he had been so strangely cast. He was to become, in the language of his Argentine



Photo. by Reed, Newburyport, Mass.

#### THE BRICK WHEELWRIGHT HOUSE

On the "Old Indian Ridge," Newburyport, Massachusetts, long the residence of the Hon. A. C. Titcomb. This house was built in 1806 by Abraham Wheelwright, the uncle of William, a man of rugged integrity, great energy, and famous as a shipmaster and soldier.

biographer, Señor Alberdi, "a new Hernando Cortés, who remained in the land of his shipwreck, to conquer its soil, not by arms but by steam, not for Spain but for civilization, not for all-absorbing North America, but to assure to South America the sovereign possession of herself."

Great minds rise superior to disaster. It was even so with young Wheelwright, who found himself a penniless stranger in a foreign land. He repaired to Buenos Ayres where he made his situation known. He says in one of his letters, written at the time, that he was disconsolate and lonely in a distant country, without resources or friends, and adds: "After the loss of my ship I became weary and worn out with misfortune. Distance and active business I hoped would in some measure obliterate painful memories."

Fortunately, the desired opportunity soon came. He was offered the position of supercargo in a ship going to Valparaiso, and gladly accepted it. After a

tempestuous voyage southward through the dangerous Straits of Magellan, and thence northward up the Pacific coast, he arrived at his destination. His discerning eye and trained powers of observation quickly perceived the terrible lack of lighthouses, docks and other indispensable improvements for the safety of life and property in South America and for her industrial development.

It was a difficult and trying position in which the daring North American pioneer found himself, when he arrived at the chief seaport of Chile. Ten thousand miles separated him from his Massachusetts home in Newburyport. Years passed before a ship bound for Salem, Massachusetts, brought tidings of him to his parents and friends. The projects of which he was dreaming for the benefit of the vast southern half of the New World met with no favor in the backward South America of those days, not yet emancipated from the thralldom of three centuries of Spanish misrule. He came to her



Photo. by Reed, Newburyport, Mass.

#### THE WHEELWRIGHT HOUSE

Now known as the "Old Ladies' Home," also on the "Old Indian Ridge," High street, Newburyport, Massachusetts, purchased in 1841 by William for the use of his mother, and occupied, after her decease at a serene, ripe old age, for many years by his sisters Susan and Elisabeth. It has two large rooms the walls of which are papered with rare and beautiful landscape papers, showing ships, Spanish architecture and tropical trees and scenery.

shores just at the moment when the great Liberator Bolivar was bringing to a close the wonderful and titanic fifteen years' Latin-American war for independence. On the 9th of December, 1824, Bolivar's brilliant second in command, General Sucre, gained the splendid victory of Ayacucho, in the lofty Andes of Peru, thus assuring forever the political freedom of Latin America, and the stability of the Monroe doctrine. The Spanish garrison of Callao, however, still tenaciously defended that important Peruvian seaport, and surrendered to the patriots only in 1826.

Three of the greatest military geniuses of history, Bolivar, San Martin and Sucre, conferred the boon of political liberty and independence upon South America, but her inhabitants were still enveloped in the darkest barbarism and ignorance, and, in their blind groping, were waiting for a leader to bring them into the light of modern civilization. It seemed as

though Rivadavia, for a short time Supreme Director of Argentina, might become that leader, but Rivadavia, with his great projects for connecting the principal rivers of South America by wide navigable canals, was a hundred years ahead of his fellow countrymen. He was deposed and the Argentine territory was distracted, for twenty years, by a frightful reign of anarchy and terror.

It was providential, for the redemption of South America, that William Wheelwright was cast upon her shores through a shipwreck. He was a stranger who had no personal ambitions to serve, and who had no selfish interest in her terrible conflict of races and in her suicidal internal strife that was causing civilization, in that portion of the world, to tremble in the balance. His lofty aim was to lift her out of her awful degradation, and to teach her, by practical object-lessons, the inestimable value of industry, religion, morality and enlightenment. He was



fortunately gifted with rare tact and firmness and commanded the respect of the worst tyrants with which the South American republics were afflicted. In 1824, he was appointed United States Consul at Guayaquil, Republic of Ecuador, then the most important port on the Pacific coast. His house became an asylum for political refugees during the civil war distracting that country.

In 1829, he paid a flying visit to his native Newburyport, and, on February 5th, married Miss Martha G. Bartlet, the daughter of Edmund Bartlet, Esq. Their honeymoon was a very uncomfortable voyage to Panama, where, as a compensation, Mrs. Wheelwright received flowers, fruit and other tokens of appreciation from the people. An equal ovation awaited them at Guayaquil. His long absence from that city caused him to lose, through the mismanagement of others, all his personal property, valued at \$100,000, and he had to begin business anew. A few years later, he was further tried by domestic affliction, for, Mrs. Wheelwright returned, in 1835, to the United States, with her two children, Maria Augusta and Mariana. The severity of the sudden change to the northern climate of Massachusetts killed the younger, who died December 18th.

Meanwhile, Mr. Wheelwright had removed to Valparaiso, Chile, then an insignificant, exposed port. Its trade was languishing, as it had only fifteen thousand inhabitants, hampered by the old restrictive Spanish regulations, with its custom-house in the interior, ninety miles distant, at Santiago. He now perceived that the psychological moment had come for revolutionizing Valparaiso,



Photo. by Reed, Newburyport, Mass.

HALL AND STAIRWAY IN THE WHEELWRIGHT HOUSE,  
NOW THE "OLD LADIES' HOME," NEW-  
BURYPORT, MASS.

and making it the great Pacific emporium of South America which it has since become. He had already, as a merchant and navigator, spent several years exploring the thousands of miles of the western coast between Valparaiso and Panama. He witnessed, in 1830, the dissolution of the unwieldy Colombian Union of Northern South America, founded by General Bolivar, into the separate republics of Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador. The dissolution meant the rise of Valparaiso, and the inevitable decay of Guayaquil as a seaport, where Wheelwright had held the commanding position of United States Consul, then equivalent to that of being ambassador. He was favorably regarded by all the rulers and most prominent public men of the Latin-American States of the Pacific, and he exerted a tremendous influence over them. Among the friendships he thus formed was that with Andres Bello, the learned Venezuelan, and both took up their abode in Valparaiso, in 1829; the mission of Bello being to establish schools in Chile, while that of his North American contemporary was to develop commerce, industry and public improvements in the same country.



Photo. by Reed, Newburyport, Mass.

BEAUTIFUL AND RARE OLD LANDSCAPE WALL-PAPER. In one of the rooms of the Wheelwright House, now the "Old Ladies' Home," Newburyport, Massachusetts. Notice the tropical life, scenery and Spanish architecture.

Wheelwright and his family soon became the most popular of all in Valparaiso. A brother of his opened a private academy for young ladies, and to this day the highest families of Chile remember with gratitude that courtly, patient Puritan schoolmaster of Valparaiso.

Wheelwright found the cities and towns of Chile in very much the same dilapidated condition in which the American army found those of Cuba, at the close of the late war with Spain. They were unhealthy, dirty, badly paved, worse lighted, generally deprived of good drinking water, and lacking in everything necessary to attract useful and sturdy immigrants. He at once set to work to remedy this state of affairs. He established a kind of waterworks, by means of which he furnished pure drinking-water to such houses as desired it; the water being introduced through iron pipes such as were in use in the cities of the United States and Europe.

His next public improvement was introducing and successfully establishing gas-lighting in the city of Copiapo, Chile. He brought about the same beneficent reform in Callao, Peru, where he also established a system of good waterworks.

To the cities on the Pacific slope of South America, with their houses built of inflammable materials, and liable to be destroyed and set on fire by earthquakes at any moment, he conferred an inestimable boon by providing them with abundant water, of the best quality. He rendered the extensive arid deserts of Peru and Chile at least inhabitable by providing apparatus for distilling water from the salt waves of the Pacific. He established in many localities kilns for the

manufacture of bricks by powerful machinery. He made navigation safe by means of lighthouses and buoys off many ports on the western coast of South America. He engaged in constant voyages of exploration along that coast, for the purpose of verifying or discovering natural products useful for commercial exploration, such as coal, saltpeter, borax, lime, copper and other minerals and substances which now constitute so large a portion of the industrial prosperity of South America. It would be impossible to enumerate the many improvements due, in Valparaiso alone, to his initiative and influence, and one need not wonder that the grateful people of Chile venerate the memory of their great Puritan benefactor, and that a splendid statue of Wheelwright stands in front of the Mercantile Exchange of that city.

The greatness of this North American pioneer was now to be revealed in a most striking manner. He conceived the idea of a fine line of fast steamships which should bind together the ports of the western coast of South America, over a stretch of three thousand miles, from Valparaiso to Panama, where British steamers on the Atlantic side of the Isth-



Photo. by Reed, Newburyport, Mass.

THE TOMB AND MONUMENT OF WILLIAM WHEELWRIGHT,

The Yankee Pioneer of South American Commerce and Industry, Oak Hill Cemetery,  
Newburyport, Massachusetts.

The inscription on the front of the monument is as follows:

IN LOVING REMEMBRANCE OF WILLIAM WHEELWRIGHT, ESQ., BORN IN NEWBURY PORT.  
DIED IN LONDON, SEPTEMBER 26, 1873, AGED 75.  
MARTHA C. BARTLET, WIFE OF WILLIAM WHEELWRIGHT, DIED AUGUST 30, 1888, AGED 84.  
THEIR WORKS AND THEIR DEEDS PRAISE THEM.

On the left façade of the monument, there is a scroll with a wreath of flowers hanging over on the right side, and the words:

MARIAN WHEELWRIGHT, BORN IN VALPARAISO, CHILE, OCTOBER 18, 1835. GEORGE WILLIAM  
WHEELWRIGHT KRELL, BORN IN NEWBURY PORT, NOVEMBER 23, 1860, DIED AT SEA, ON  
BOARD THE ROYAL MAIL STEAMER MAGDALEN, DECEMBER 17, 1862.  
MARIA AUGUSTA WHEELWRIGHT, WIFE OF PAUL KRELL, BORN IN VALPARAISO, DIED AT OATLANDS,  
ENGLAND, FEBRUARY 11, 1886.

On the left façade, there is a broken white marble pillar, twined round with ivy leaves and flowers, and the inscription:

WILLIAM WHEELWRIGHT, JR., BORN IN NEWBURY PORT, MAY 29, 1840, DIED AT KEW,  
NEAR LONDON, OCTOBER 18, 1862.

mus could swiftly reach Europe itself, thus bringing South America into intimate and frequent touch with all the great European commercial emporiums.

The project he proposed seemed so impracticable, in those days, that even the British minister resident in Lima, Peru, instructed his servants not to admit "that wild visionary Wheelwright" if he should call again. It would be difficult to enumerate the obstacles he encountered. All this has been exhaustively explained in Señor Alberdi's Spanish biography, an excellent English trans-

lation of which, under the title of *Life and Industrial Labors of William Wheelwright in South America*, was published, in 1877, by the late Hon. Caleb Cushing, of Newburyport, Massachusetts. The outlook for support among South Americans, who would be incalculably benefitted by the innovation proposed, was most unpromising. They inherited a deep-rooted conservatism, the result of centuries of the old Spanish régime, which made them cling tenaciously to their traditional, slow methods of doing things. Moreover, only recently emar-

icipated from the yoke of Spain, and torn by internal strife and a terrible conflict of races, the Latin-American Republics fell a prey to anarchy and the awful excesses and exactions of native tyrants. The whole atmosphere of South America was surcharged with the militant spirit. Native dictators and adventurers of the worst type rose to power through revolutions and by force of arms, only to be swiftly deposed by other adventurers fully as bad and irresponsible.

Such was the gloomy prospect when Wheelwright, in 1835, first broached his project. He was fortunate in having been, for many years, the American Consul at Guayaquil, where his position as the chief representative of the powerful and neutral United States commanded universal respect throughout South America. His genial courtesy, strong will-power and rare tactfulness gradually smoothed away all difficulties, and he had, moreover, a thorough command of both Spanish and English. He applied first to Chile, as that republic had the most stable and enlightened government. The Chilean authorities, by a law dated August 25, 1835, granted him all the con-

cessions he solicited for his exceptional enterprise. He now proceeded overland through the lofty Andes, at imminent risk of his life, to Potosi, Bolivia, witnessed a battle, and won the reluctant

assent of the government of that republic to his proposed line of Pacific steamers. A concession from Ecuador was obtained in 1837, but it was to last only four years, and a restriction was added, forbidding the company from engaging in the coastwise trade. Wheelwright was planning to have his new Pacific line touch at all South American ports, from Valparaiso to Panama, where a corresponding steamship line, on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus, should carry commerce to and from Europe. The co-operation of Colombia, then owner of the Isthmus, was indispensable. This seemed a matter of course, as that extensive country is bathed by both the Pacific and Atlantic.

Colombia is, however, a republic the greater part of whose territory is inland and consists largely of the towering mountain-chains of the northern Cordillera of the Andes. Bogotá, the capital, is on an elevated plateau of 8,000 feet, and to reach it from the coast, even in



STATUE OF WILLIAM WHEELWRIGHT

Erected in Valparaiso, Chile, in 1876, by popular subscription.



the present twentieth century, requires an arduous, rough-riding journey on muleback, of fully three weeks. In those sublime gigantic Andes, the liberator General Bolivar had gained, at a height of fifteen thousand feet above sea-level, some of his most brilliant victories over the Spaniards. On one public occasion, he declared that "the glory of having carried aloft the standard of liberty into these frigid regions totally outweighs all the gold that lies at our feet." Señor Alberdi justly remarks that this language, translated into that of the economist, simply means that provincial isolation is better than free intercommunication with the civilized world, and it furnishes the key to the singular conditions which ultimately rendered inevitable the secession of the present Republic of Panama from Colombia, so that the Panama canal might be constructed by the United States.

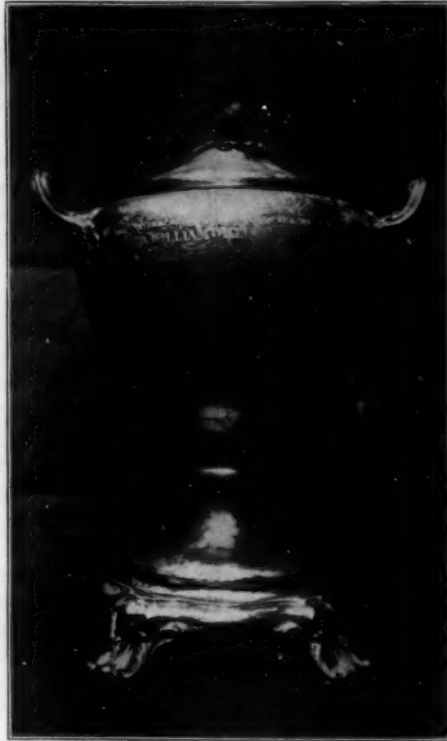
One can now understand why the narrow-minded congress of Colombia rejected, for several years, Wheelwright's proposals, although the president of that republic was sufficiently enlightened to perceive clearly their tre-

mendous commercial advantages. An additional obstacle was the fact that a French company operated a fleet of sailing vessels and dreaded any curtailment of their

exclusive monopoly. Experience, however, the most costly yet efficient of all teachers, at length convinced the French company of the folly of opposing modern progress, and they consented to an amicable arrangement with Wheelwright. Still another difficulty had to be overcome as Colombia adhered to the old Spanish restriction of taxing very heavily the transport of mail and merchandise overland across the Isthmus of Panama; but at length the United States succeeded in negotiating a treaty with that republic, by the terms of which free transit was perpetually assured.

Wheelwright, by overcoming South American opposition to his revolutionary innovations, had gone a long step towards the consummation of his enterprise, but

completely lacked the capital to carry it forward. The question arose: In what quarter could he find such financial backing? He turned at first to his own native country, but Americans, with the fatal



SILVER TROPHY

Presented to Mr. William Wheelwright, Chief Superintendent of the Pacific Steam Navigation Company, by the commercial community of Valparaiso, Chile, as a testimonial of their appreciation, January 15, 1842.

The inscription on the trophy is as follows:

PRESENTED BY THE COMMERCIAL COMMUNITY OF VALPARAISO TO WILLIAM WHEELWRIGHT, ESQ., CHIEF SUPERINTENDENT OF THE PACIFIC STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, AS A TESTIMONIAL OF THEIR RESPECT AND ESTEEM OF HIS CHARACTER AND THEIR ADMIRATION OF HIS MERITS.  
Valparaiso, Jan'y 15th, 1842.

Reproduced by the courtesy of Mr. James E. Whitney, Boston, Treasurer of the William Wheelwright Scientific School Fund.

blindness which has ever characterized them in their commercial dealings with Latin America, looked coldly upon a project which promised no immediate returns in profits or dividends. He was obliged, therefore, to endeavor to interest British capitalists.

Armed with official concessions, not great to be sure, but indispensable for his purpose, and with a carefully prepared, luminous pamphlet, illustrated by his own map of the Pacific coast of South America, Wheelwright, in 1838, crossed the oceans and presented himself in London and Glasgow. His winning personality and convincing arguments secured him at once a favorable reception throughout Great Britain, and he won the friendship of Sir Clements R. Markham, the eminent geographer, and of many other noted British public men. The entire press of London freely published his communications, which they cordially supported in long leading editorials. It happened, also, fortunately for his cause, that the Hon. P. Campbell Scarlett had just returned to England from a long journey of several thousand miles across the pampas and Andes, from Buenos Ayres to Valparaiso, and had published a scientific book entitled *South America and the Pacific*. As an appendix to his work, in two volumes, Mr. Scarlett added a memorial, addressed to the Foreign Office, on the advantages of making use of the Isthmus of Panama as the most rapid highway of communi-

cation between Europe and the Pacific ports of South America. Wheelwright's ideas coincided so much with his own that Mr. Scarlett inserted into his book the former's pamphlet entitled *Statements and Plans*.

Reflecting men throughout Great Britain were soon convinced that the advantages of the Panama route, by vessels propelled by steam, over the dangerous circuitous Straits of Magellan, effected in sailing ships, delayed by the calms of the Pacific, were too obvious to be longer neglected. It was self-evident that it was not worth while wasting from one hundred to one hundred and twenty days in reaching Valparaiso, Lima and Guayaquil when the voyage could be accomplished by steam, by way of Panama, in from forty-six to sixty-two days.

As a result of his propaganda, Wheelwright soon secured the coöperation of leading British capitalists, and a company was formed, in London, under the name of "The Pacific Steam Navigation Company," which readily obtained a royal charter of incorporation, and of which the directors appointed Wheelwright *Chief Superintendent*. A capital of \$1,250,000, divided into five thousand shares, was subscribed. Two sister steamers, the "Chile" and the "Peru," of 700 tons and 150 horsepower each, were built by Messrs Charles Young & Company, of Limehouse, England.

(To be continued.)

Malden, Mass. FREDERIC M. NOA.

## GOVERNOR JOSEPH W. FOLK.

By THOMAS SPEED MOSBY.

Pardon-Attorney for the State of Missouri.

**M**ORE peculiarly and distinctly, perhaps, than any other man of equal prominence in the public life of America to-day, Governor Folk of Missouri is known by his works.

Folk is a man of few words and tremendous accomplishments. He seldom talks about what he is going to do, but does it and lets the world talk about it afterwards.

Such was his character as Circuit-Attorney of the City of St. Louis, where he convicted more men of political crimes than were ever before convicted at any one time and place in the entire history of the world, and such has been his subsequent record as Governor of the State of Missouri.

First of all, Folk is a firm believer in the force and efficacy of the constitution and laws of the State of Missouri and of the United States. Although a profound student and an advanced thinker, and not in any sense retrogressive or ultra-conservative, his policy throughout has been to first enforce the laws we have before casting them aside as worthless and rushing into the wilderness of new policies and systems of government. He has always taken his oath of office seriously, and, indeed, literally. Having sworn to uphold and enforce the laws and to discharge the duties of an office he has always performed those duties to the letter.

Folk has become known to the American people not as a theorist or a political leader. He has, in the course of his speeches and lectures said many things which have been widely quoted; but his *doings* rather than his *sayings* have made him known. When he speaks he usually speaks from experience, not from speculation or hearsay. He never has "dreams" or sees "visions." Plain, practical, sober-minded; not fanciful, empirical or inconsiderate in thought or deed, this plodding man of the people has started a moral wave which has moved forward with the force of an avalanche in the political life of the United States.

When Joseph W. Folk began his work for the purification of St. Louis he was laughed at as an impractical dreamer. Up to that time, indeed, the utterance of the late Senator John J. Ingalls of Kansas, that "honesty in politics is an iridescent dream," had been, consciously or unconsciously, accepted as a fact. Reformation seemed impossible. When the anti-boodle prosecutions were begun in St. Louis many of the greatest journals of the

United States declared that the work of renovating the politics of our great cities was a hopeless task. They hooted at the idea that convictions could be secured.

But Folk plodded on, saying little and doing much, and he succeeded. Newspaper comment began to change. Public opinion grew more hopeful. Then the moral wave began to spread; first through the State of Missouri, where it swept all before it, then rapidly across the continent, and even beyond the seas. Early in 1904 a law-enforcing official in Honolulu was referred to in a local newspaper there as "the Joe Folk of Hawaii."

Nominated and elected Governor of Missouri, Folk carried his gospel of law-enforcement into other States. He was prominent in the Ohio campaign which elected Governor Pattison and overturned the power of "Boss" Cox in Cincinnati. In the same campaign he entered Pennsylvania and in Philadelphia, erstwhile the "corrupt and contented," he was given the greatest ovation ever given a political speaker in that city. And the election returns showed that the hearts of the people had been aroused.

Wherever he has traveled, from Boston to San Francisco, multitudes have assembled to hear him present the "Missouri Idea," which he has defined as "the idea that citizenship in a free country implies a civic obligation to enforce the performance of every public trust by holding every public official to strict accountability before enlightened public opinion for all official acts."

But the message he brings to the American people is no new gospel. It is as old as Sinai. He electrified the public conscience simply by showing that all was not lost; by simply showing that righteous government and righteous administration of the affairs of government, was but a matter of honesty and courage.

This was not a new gospel; it was merely a forgotten truth, which, in our struggle for the material things of life, we of America had forgotten.

We knew that honesty was the best

policy; but it remained for Folk of Missouri to teach us that, after all, in his own phrase, "Honesty is the best *politics*."

The concrete results of the great moral wave are now coming to be understood and acknowledged. The average of honesty has been rising, and its rise dates from the time when Folk came upon the stage of public affairs. All this has been conclusively shown by an article from the pen of Mr. Philip Loring Allen, in a recent number of a well known periodical.

In his New York speech welcoming Mr. Bryan, Governor Folk said:

"We are on the threshold of the greatest political awakening this nation has ever known. It marks the beginning of a new age. The next few years will be distinguished as the time in which industrial problems are solved, the reign of the special privilege brought to an end, and the doctrine of equal rights fixed in national politics and in the conscience of mankind. Only a few years past, bribery was considered merely conventional. Legislative halls were made dens of thieves, and the touch of the unclean dollar of privilege was over all. Dishonesty in public life was either unnoticed, or else regarded with despair. Then a dormant public conscience was aroused to the necessity of stamping out the offense that strikes at the heart of free government. The energies of this public conscience have been extended from the domain of the public wrong-doer to that of the private wrong-doer, and are probing into the workings of rascals of every kind. The insurance investigations have sent forth their message, the rebate revelations have been seen and heard, and innumerable grand juries have drawn aside the curtain and revealed the anarchs of corruption and greed in their bacchanal of avarice.

"The regenerated conscience of the people has been assailing these abuses one by one, and has now commenced to attack the deeper evil of privilege. No one ever heard of a legislator being bribed to give

equal rights to all the people. It is always for the purpose of obtaining special privilege for the few. Graft cannot be fully done away with until special privileges are exterminated and the doctrine of equal rights becomes the standard for governmental action."

When Folk says that privilege is the source of graft, every man in America knows that it is true, for he speaks upon the subject with the authority of expert knowledge. In his boodle prosecutions he learned from actual experience that every graft may be traced directly to some special privilege.

In the speech above referred to the Missouri Governor announced the following epitome of democracy:

"In this epoch, so important to American liberty, we ask the people to set up no new gods; we ask them to follow no new paths which may lead into the quicksands of dishonor and despair. Our safest and surest guide is still the old maxim, that there shall be "equal rights to all; special privileges to none." With this maxim as our chart, we cannot lose our course; with this rule for our guidance, the infamies of privilege in every form will be destroyed, and unto all men there will be restored the equal right that belongs to each, the fair and equal opportunity of every man to live and labor upon the earth which God has given to all, and to enjoy untrammelled the gains of individual industry."

What grander concept can there be, of human government? It is indeed the soul of a great man and a great democrat, that speaks for "the free and equal opportunity of every man to live and labor upon the earth which God has given to all, and to enjoy untrammelled the gains of individual industry"—how suggestive of the spirit of a John Bright or a Henry George!

Here are no meaningless words; nothing for mere ornament, show or rhetorical effect. When Folk speaks, he speaks



advisedly and to the point, and he is every bit in earnest; just as he was when he laconically accepted, from a St. Louis politician, the nomination for circuit-attorney—"I will accept, but I will obey my oath of office." And the world knows how well he obeyed that oath!

As Governor of Missouri he has driven the corporation lobby from the State capitol, abolished the practice of legislators and appointees of the governor riding on free railway-passes, forced the passage of a law extending the statute of limitations in bribery cases from three to five years, has taken the police out of politics in the large cities of Missouri, forced the passage of a law penalizing race-track gambling and enforced that law to the letter, incidentally driving the largest race-track syndicate in the world out of business although it enjoyed the protection of local county officials. He has closed the wine-rooms and gambling-dives of the great cities, driven out the panel-workers and stamped out grafting from the police departments of the great cities of his State. He has so conducted the elections through his election commissioners in the great cities that no cry of fraud has been raised after any city election held under his administration. Most remarkable has been his enforcement of the law requiring the Sunday closing of dram-shops.

The great brewery syndicate which, allied with the retail liquor dealers of the State, represents a capital of some three hundred millions, determined that the law should not be enforced. No Missouri Governor had ever before attempted its enforcement. The idea was laughed at as impracticable and foolish. The enormous campaign funds which backed the would-be violators of the law won over many newspapers and politicians; but Folk, backed by the moral sentiment which has ever been his unfailing support, was greater than them all, and now Missouri is probably the most completely law-abiding State in the Union. Not satisfied with vilification, threats and

intimidation, the liquor interests caused enormous petitions to be presented, calling upon the Governor to enforce the law. But there was another side to the question. The wives and mothers who had been starved and neglected that the Sunday saloon might thrive, began writing letters to the Governor, and in the darkest hour of the fight, when it looked as though victory was yet afar off, the Governor gave out to the press one of these letters from the wife of a poor laboring man, who thanked God that her husband was now spending his Sunday at home, instead of in the bar-room, and that she and her children now had food and clothing instead of starvation and rags. "I am praying that God may give you strength to keep up the fight," she wrote. And Folk publicly declared: "I would rather have the prayers of one good woman than the support of all the liquor dealers in the world."

He kept up the fight, and won.

And so it has been with every species of lawlessness which he has been called upon to combat. Everywhere wealth and power has been against him; and everywhere the prayers of good people have gone up in support of his good work, and that work has in every instance been crowned with victory.

But, although his name is coupled more conspicuously with the idea of law-enforcement than that of any other man living or dead, Folk is not merely an enforcer of the laws. His plans for the improvement of the Government of his State are far-reaching, and toward their successful accomplishment he is moving forward with a certainty than does not admit of question.

He has made and is now making a fight to place the burdens of maintaining the government so far as possible upon the holders of special privileges, and exempting to that extent the fruits of individual industry; is striving to establish a system of local option in taxation, and has appointed a commission to consider plans for a complete revision of the present system of taxation in Missouri.

In addition to this he is seeking to establish a public-utility commission with power to inquire into and determine the actual amount invested in public-utility corporations, and to fix upon a reasonable and fair basis the rates which such concerns shall be allowed to charge the public. Speaking of this project he has said:

"If the rates of all public-utility corporations were regulated upon a basis of actual investment (and it has been held by the courts that the legislature can do this), the result would be to materially lower the rates charged by gas, electric-light, telephone, telegraph and street-car companies, where the rates now charged are based upon fictitious values. Corporations controlling public utilities exercise privileges that are denied the ordinary individual. It is not only fair to them that their rates be regulated on a reasonable basis by the State, but such action seems to be necessary in this day of immense consolidation of capital for the protection of the public."

This is no flowery speech. It is simply the plain, practical expression of a practical statesman, and those who know Folk know that he means just what he says. Will he succeed?

If he lives, yes. Folk always succeeds.

Another reform he is working out is the substitution of the ballot primary election for the delegate convention, as a means of nominating candidates for office. He has already won Missouri over to this proposition, and it is hardly possible that the State primary law can fail of passage in the next legislature. But Folk goes farther, and would apply the ballot to matters of legislation as well. He has repeatedly endorsed the Initiative and Referendum, and if his busy life is spared to the people for a few more years Missouri will see this reform engrafted upon

the organic law of the state. During a prior administration the Initiative and Referendum was defeated by a popular vote, because not sufficiently understood by the people.

In private life Governor Folk is plain, unpretentious, and severely democratic in his habits. Although personally congenial, the cares of state have not allowed him to greatly indulge a disposition toward the usual social indulgences. In the capital city he is seldom seen excepting at his office or at the executive mansion. He is an omnivorous and incessant reader, and never tires of delving among his books. Determination is written in his face, and he knows no such thing as fear. During his various crusades against lawlessness his life has been repeatedly threatened, but he has always refused a guard. He is a clever shot, and his favorite sports are hunting and trap-shooting, although for these his official duties give him little time. Although calm and dignified in his demeanor and apparently unemotional, I have frequently seen him moved to tears by the plea of a poor widow for the pardon of her son, and once I knew him to pardon a widow's only son and then give her \$10 with which to buy him clothing. In the administration of the pardoning power he is probably the first American executive to invariably couple conditions with his pardons. Wherever it is known that the prisoner's ruin was due to some particular vice, such as gambling or drinking, Governor Folk specifies in the pardon that a lapse into those vices again shall cause the return of the prisoner to the penitentiary.

Such, in brief, is Folk, the statesman and the man. His character may be written in three words:

Honesty, courage, strength; and the greatest of these is honesty.

THOMAS SPEED MOSBY.

*Jefferson, Mo.*

## BROAD ASPECTS OF RACE-SUICIDE.

BY PROFESSOR FRANK T. CARLTON,  
Chair of Economics and History, Albion College.

THE NOW wide and constantly widening separation and differentiation of classes, the changing industrial and social life of the people, and the close contact with the civilization and the swarming millions of the Orient are forcing the question of population into the foreground of American thought. New conditions are modifying and complicating this problem. Disregarding the more narrow aspect of the question of population or of "race-suicide," three points-of-view may be taken. It may be considered as a class question, a national question, or a racial or religious question—Orient *versus* Occident. Although passing by the narrow aspects of the question, no implication tending to minimize the importance of those aspects is intended. The question as to the effect of large families upon home conditions, and upon the life and progress of the female sex is, of course, extremely important; but it is this phase of the problem which is now being discussed with bitterness and vehemence in the forum of public opinion. Other important factors in the population question are almost wholly lost sight of.

Economic considerations are now generally recognized as playing an important rôle in determining the rate of increase of the population. An established standard of living, together with its accompanying social position, is tenaciously clung to by all men and women; but especially by those who are raised above very low standards of living. If a large family endangers the maintenance of this accustomed standard, smaller families will be the inevitable result in the majority of cases. While large families in rural communities in earlier times spelled increase of products and of in-

come, to-day, under essentially different conditions, a large family means greatly increased expense without a corresponding increase of income, and leads inevitably in the majority of cases to the loss of accustomed comforts and enjoyment. A young man is seriously handicapped at the present time, if he becomes the father of a large family. These are facts so germane to the subject that they cannot be overlooked. The instinct or desire for offspring is placed in opposition to the strong human ambition to maintain and to advance one's social and economic position. Whereas a few generations ago a widow possessing a large family of minor children was considered to be an excellent marriageable proposition, to-day she becomes, unless wealthy, a drug on the matrimonial market. Widows are, no doubt, just as spritely and good-looking to-day as were those of half a century ago; economic conditions rather than the personal characteristics of widows have changed.

As soon as education and skill raise a class or a group of men above the lower strata of economic and social life, the struggle to maintain themselves on this new level begins, and small families are the fruits of the majority of marriages between individuals in their classes. It is in essence a class struggle. Those in the depths are not affected; they have lost heart, and fear nothing further, or they are apparently contented with their condition and mode of living. The wages of the unskilled may be kept down by two means: by immigration from other countries, or by large increase in the native working population. The immediate interests of the landowning and employing classes are favored by large increases in the population of the

laboring people, because as a result a large number of workers compete against each other, thus tending to keep down the wage level. Indeed, our present industrial system demands a large floating population of unemployed. Low wages also lead to relatively high land values and to high rents and excessive returns from the use and ownership of market opportunities of various sorts. Large numbers of would-be employés offer golden opportunities to the employers. The situation may be fairly stated as follows: the employers desire a surplus of laborers; the unions are desirous of restricting the numbers; but the general public—society—wishes a perfect adjustment between work and workers. This is the ideal toward which society is climbing. The employing class, the national leader who fears foreign aggression, and the imperialistic statesman unite upon the question of race-suicide; although each attains his position as a result of a somewhat different line of reasoning.

The question as to the desirability of large families and of rapidly increasing population is frequently considered from a point-of-view which was pertinent a generation or two ago, but which is no longer applicable. As long as questions involving the increase of productive possibilities and the exploitation and appropriation of natural resources occupied a predominant place in our economic and political activity, the question of population assumed one aspect; but when these questions yield in relative importance to those involved in the distribution of the products of industry and of the efficient consumption of the same, it is presented to society in a different form. As Burke pointed out, we are prone to see historic needs and dangers, but we are also liable to overlook those of the present. We are afflicted with a sort of far-sightedness which blurs the vision as to the present, which destroys our mental perspective. Mere increase in numbers to till our broad fields, to

tend our many machines, and to sell or transport our products, is unnecessary. We possess a floating, semi-idle population which is imperfectly adjusted to the industrial needs of the country. Industry now needs skilled workers rather than unskilled. The question of population when large quantities of tillable land lie fallow on our Western frontier is much different from the question which confronts us when the frontier has been trampled under the foot of advancing civilization. This class element in the problem did not appear, or at least did not assume important dimensions, until after the disappearance of the frontier.

If the working people of one country are able to raise their standard of living above that of other countries, international competition immediately acts, tending to force down the wage level in the first country. Only by erecting trade barriers, such as apprenticeship regulations, unions, and restriction of immigration, can one country raise its scale of wages far above that of another country, except in so far as the efficiency of the workers may differ. The existence of low standard-of-living workers acts as a positive check upon social betterment. Class distinctions, trade demarcations, unionism, and professional requirements are the concrete results of efforts to differentiate certain classes of people from the evils of this situation. The Chinese exclusion act is based upon a class or caste effort to prevent the depression of the American wage level. Remove the barriers of legal restriction, custom and the immobility of labor, and the wage-level of the world will tend toward uniformity. Where large masses of labor are employed, special ability or efficiency is rarely recognized except by lifting an occasional individual to a higher trade-level. The wages of all members of a railroad section gang, a gang of hod-carriers or of mine shovelers, are not differentiated and graded according to the personal efficiencies of different members; all members of the same gang re-



ceive like wages. Race-suicide tends to prevent the depression of the standard of living for the grades of workers who have differentiated themselves from the great mass of the unskilled. The skilled man with a large family must expect to see his children, or the majority of them, forced down in the scale because he cannot give them proper training.

With the progress of medical science, curative and particularly preventive, with increasing vigor of the race and longer average span of life, the economic demand and the social need of large families ought normally to decrease. This is the lesson which nature teaches. The higher and stronger animals are given fewer offspring than those lower in the scale of animal life. Statistics is also the bearer of good tidings to the inquirer; statistics indicates that the rate of increase in the population decreases as the race or class moves toward a higher plane of mental and physical development. Thus, nature labors to prevent overpopulation. Nevertheless, independent of the physical effects of culture, luxury, and the manner of living of the mental worker, and the business and professional man, small families are logically to be expected among many classes of the community. As has been shown, a slight analysis of the situation will place this fact clearly before us. Large families, in a fairly well-populated Occidental country, are the rule only among the poorly-paid classes of the community, among the classes from whom increase is not particularly desirable. Exhortations against race-suicide, if they produce any appreciable effect, act almost entirely upon the very class which does not need, from any point-of-view, such admonitions. If the theory is accepted, as undoubtedly it must be in the light of modern investigation, that the child is chiefly molded by his home, school, and street environment and influences, then the task before society is the betterment of those conditions through educational and municipal improvements.

The wide separation of classes means distrust and lack of sympathy between the members of different groups, and consequently leads easily to the exploitation of the weaker groups. In a democracy, which is enduring, organization of the conflicting interests is imperative, in order that one may effectively check the excesses of the other. A democracy becomes an unstable balance of conflicting interests if class differentiation becomes too wide. The danger of aggression by other nations or races and the fear of economic exploitation by other nations must be weighed against the claims of democracy and humanity which ask for greater equality in well-being, which ask for a closer approximation of income to services; and this danger must also be weighed against the possibilities of exploitation of certain classes by others within our own borders. The true problem is not the rapid increase in the numbers of the so-called middle class, but rather to inaugurate such improvements in the economic and mental conditions of the laboring class as will lower its rate of increase and improve its efficiency. The hope of society lies ultimately in restriction of the numbers of the unskilled. Scientific and industrial education for the masses, and a considerable increase in the numbers of parks, playgrounds, reading-rooms, gymnasiums, baths, concerts, lectures, and other collective enjoyment, are among the most potent instruments which must be utilized to raise the level of the unskilled. Race-suicide in this country is a class, not a national, phenomenon; herein lies the danger.

From the point-of-view of the nation, the demand for large population may be ascribed to two influences: First, to the necessities of the past, such as the need of more people to develop land and industry under modern industrial conditions; and, secondly, international jealousy and fear,—the real danger of the dominance of the many over the best. In the days of tribal warfare, or in the later days of fierce and protracted strug-

gles for supremacy between the various nations and peoples, the life of a nation or of a people depended, in no small measure, upon the rapid increase of population. Supremacy or escape from subjection depended upon this increase. In those troublesome times stern necessity, not ethics, formulated the demand for large families. Modern imperialism is but a rebirth of, or a reversion to, the old conquering and subduing instinct of the races. With the growth of a feeling of international comity and of rational views as to the progress of humanity, this demand or outcry for larger and larger populations should, under any rational interpretation of the goal of progress, become less insistent. The recent wave of imperialism which is sweeping over the nations of the Western hemisphere, however, menaces international peace, and unfortunately introduces new reasons, in the sacred name of patriotism, for an insistence upon the demands for large families. Imperialistic rulers and those hungry for territorial expansion have ever urged the propriety of large families. President Roosevelt is only following in the footsteps of a long line of preceding rulers.

Side by side with this wave of imperialism is seen another, brighter, more cheerful, and more hopeful movement,—democracy. Where the spirit of democracy and of brotherhood has permeated the people of a nation, we can no longer anticipate that the common people who are the food of the Dogs of War, will consent to be led to slaughter each other in the name of patriotism or of religion. It is true that in the past democracies have often been ready and eager to enter upon a war; but with the improvement in education and with the growth of broader conceptions of humanity and brotherhood, the spirit of democracy will become more gentle and less hostile toward other nations and peoples. Imperialism and democracy are antagonistic conceptions. Imperialism calls for large populations which are at the disposal of

the government for military purposes; a democracy, on the other hand, demands citizens who will serve her in peace. The hero of a true democracy earns his title through living for the benefit of his country and the betterment of humanity. The hero of a democracy is the worker; that of a truly imperialistic power is the fighter.

To a nation that is not troubled with imperialistic dreams and that has little fear of aggression by other nations, the phantom of race-suicide ought to excite little fear. Quality in population rather than quantity of population is needed; and too much quantity leads to deterioration under modern social and industrial conditions. Exceptions to this generalization there may be; but in the long run the rule is a true one. The happiness of the individual, or the greatness of a nation is by no means entirely a product which increases directly with the numbers composing that nation.

The call for large population is also justified by the conceited belief of each people that they are the chosen people, that their civilization should be impressed upon all nations, and further that it is that particular nation's duty and mission to spread the blessings, and evils as well, to all the heathen and the benighted. We are only beginning to faintly and half-heartedly recognize that each people, each period of history, and each geographical division have their own peculiar and valuable contribution to make toward the progress and upbuilding of society. Imperialism and brute repression lead toward destruction, toward uniformity, and towards a flat, insipid, unprogressive world civilization. Instead of two or three giant civilizations armed to the teeth, let us hope and work for many civilizations bearing the olive branch of peace and tolerance. Each nation, like each individual, has its own peculiar influence and mission. The Occident needs to learn from the Orient the lesson of peace, non-aggression, and the value of tolerance. The West may teach the East science and sympathy for

the suffering; the West may reveal to the East the spirit of democracy and the rights of the individual.

Since 1898, the world has been moving rapidly. The old liberal programmes have been forgotten in the crush of world-wide events. Europe and America now look anxiously toward the Far East. There is the new center of world politics. Is the meeting of the Orient and the Occident to be peaceful, or is it to be followed by a war of civilizations, a test of brute strength and of mere numbers? Is the prevention of race-suicide the hope of the West? If awakening China and awakened Japan become endued with the spirit of Europe and America, if their common people consent to be hurled against the West in the spirit of conquest, in the desire to snuff out the lamp of Western civilization and to trail the standard of Christianity in the dust, then indeed this question does attain the dignity of a world-wide problem, although it must be remembered that strength lies not solely in numbers. While the Asiatic hordes may easily cast the men of the West out of Asia, a successful invasion of Europe by Asiatics is probably impossible. But, it must not be forgotten that the religion of the Oriental, Mohammedanism excepted, his manner of living and his ideals lead to peace and industry instead of to war and aggression. The vast numbers living in the Chinese Empire are to be attributed to the low standard of living and culture of the mass of the inhabitants, and to certain religious beliefs and customs. Captain Brinkley mentions the following incentives to increase of population in China: A religious belief in the necessity for the continuation of the family; an ethical obligation to continue the family; a social stigma which attaches to an unwedded marriageable girl; and a law which requires that husbands shall be furnished females sold into service. Such beliefs introduce factors into the problem which are unknown in the Western countries. The gradual introduction of Western

methods of industry, means of transportation, science and sanitary measures will slowly raise the average standard of efficiency and of living; and as a result it may be anticipated that the birth-rate will be reduced. Japan, and, in a lesser degree, China are now accepting Western industrial and commercial methods. Such action must inevitably react upon the conditions surrounding the people. At first it will probably lead, as it did in the West, to the exploitation of the poorer classes by the employers; but increase in production, and improvement and modification of their educational system must, if we may judge by our own experience, inevitably lead to the growth of a spirit of democracy and to greater consideration for the welfare of the masses, because they will have increased their strength and unity.

International jealousies, engendered by the desire for commercial aggrandizement—profits—are then at the root of this demand for an increased birth-rate. Each nation demands men to watch the men of other nations and of their own country as well. Think of the thousands and millions of human beings whose lives are frittered away in the empty task of attempting to prevent various kinds of real and fanciful aggression,—soldiers, policemen, lawyers, judges, sheriffs, and so on through a long list! Is the United States to enter upon the fixed policy of rapidly adding to her quota in this list?

The hope of the world is in increasing true culture,—education in its broadest sense—not in wars of aggression or in brutal assimilation of races. Even in autocratic Russia the spirit of democracy is raising its head; and with the fall of autocracy will come better education for the masses, and the conclusion of her vast imperialistic schemes. In our own United States, not race-suicide but the reverse is to be feared. Large families and the consequent low standards of living are the curse of our great cities, and the fruitful cause of misery, crime,

and degradation. Our schools cannot keep pace with the needs of our increasing population. Improper school facilities and bad home environment are annually condemning thousands of innocent young children to lives of inefficiency or criminality. Until those near the poverty line can be brought to abstain from propagating unreasonably large numbers of offspring, betterment of these people as a class is hopeless. Teachers rather than soldiers are needed; and money for education rather than for imperialistic measures is to be desired.

Demands for large families are then the result of one or more of three influences: separation of the people into classes with the resultant class prejudice and desire for class exploitation; the desire for national aggrandizement or the fear of aggression by other nations; and imperialistic schemes and wild dreams of converting the hordes of Asia into tribute-payers.

America as the exponent of democracy and as a representative of Western ideals cannot afford to take cognizance of any one of these three aims. America does not wish class division; the very stability and permanence of a democratic government is endangered by forces which lead toward class differentiation and the caste system. This country has no neighbors whom she fears or with whom she wishes to play the part of an aggressor. It is to be hoped that no attempt will be made to maintain permanent control by force of arms over any inferior race. The world needs to-day those forces which make for higher intellectual grade of life. Not a leveling down is desired, but a leveling up through universal training and through the increase of collective enjoyment of good. Not a large population living upon the limit of subsistence whose

individual span of life is short, but a smaller population enjoying greater comfort and greater longevity of life, is the rational hope of the world, from the standpoint of Western civilization. As J. S. Mill has well said, it is not a pleasant and cheerful prospect, if, in the future, the land must all be parceled out and intensively cultivated. Commonplace, indeed, will be the lot of man if all beauty spots must give place to hives of industrial activity, if the now solitary places of the earth are all to be densely populated. Instead of looking toward increasing the birth-rate among all classes, it is more to the point to look toward decreasing the rate of increase among the poorer classes of the people.

The world is near another fork in the path of development. We may be on the threshold of a new civilization. The ends of the earth have been searched and parceled out; expansion of population will soon tend to be a menace rather than a blessing. The surplus energy of the nation may be turned from aggression and expansion to the more peaceful and desirable triumphs of science, art and education. Or we may be on the threshold of a new "Dark Age" in which brute strength and imperialistic tendencies will roam at will among the ruins of our present civilization. The result hinges on the decision of the contest now being waged between imperialism and democracy, between the forces of reaction and those of progress toward greater solidarity among the races and peoples of the earth. And the problem is complicated and made difficult by the low standards of living, judged by the criterions of the West, of the people living in the Orient.

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## WILLIAM MORRIS AND ESTHETIC SOCIALISM.

BY THOMAS DICKINSON Ph.D.

**E**STHETIC socialism is a new thing for the modern world. When its spirit shall have attained maturity there will be a Twentieth-Century Hellenism. By esthetic socialism is meant that theory of the relationship of the souls of men that bears scrutiny on their tastes and joys rather than on their rights and obligations.

The ethical socialism of Kingsley and Maurice was an outgrowth of the sick discontent of Chartism. These men went into socialism with heart and soul in the hope to ameliorate the condition of the workingman. They attempted to apply the principles of the Christian religion to the solving of the serious problems of modern industry. Essentially their scheme left industry as it is. It propounded no formula for the reorganization of society and strove to effect its ends through the arousing of the latent *consciousness of right* in the heart of every individual. Kingsley in *Alton Locke* and Carlyle in *Chartism*, while admitting the workingman's condition to be unhappy, tacitly feel secure in the opinion that the only safety of government is mass under class. The theory of the "benevolent whip-handler" was still dominant in socialism.

When Chartism got its death-blow in 1848 William Morris was but a boy. The social ferment of the surrounding years affected the young aristocrat little. As a thoughtless child he accepted the privileges of wealth without question. If he had thought at all on the matter he had considered his a divine right to enjoy blessings which were closed to his brothers.

There may be two kinds of rights: *the right to have* and *the right to enjoy*. These rights are not identical and the possession of the one does not presuppose

the possession of the other. And it was through a pathway of art that Morris came to Socialism, rather than through the pathway of industry.

The right to have is the world-old basis of equity. The industrial age is so old and the world has held property to be the basis of all earthly blessing so long that our social thinkers have accepted material wealth without questioning. Economics, which was the first, is still the fundamental social science. From it as the science of wealth the sciences of politics and sociology have sprung. Government is held to exist for the protection of property rights. Even socialism as commonly understood deems that the imperfections of man's common life are imperfections in the distribution of wealth, and that when an equitable system of share-and-share-alike has been put into operation the children of man will live in eternal peace.

The conception of the human right to enjoy is a newer one. To grasp it there is necessary the possession of a newest of intellectual muscles, an intelligence unassociated with the conventional formulæ of political thinkers. When the artists began to think of rights they thought in terms other than those of possession. This is partly because there is a difference between a doctrine and a taste. A thinker may isolate his intellectual life even from himself. He does not find himself under the necessity of guiding the forces of his character by the outlines of his philosophy. But the artist does not express himself in doctrines. He expresses himself in appreciations; principles to him are generalizations of himself. It did not detract from the cogency of Lassalle's system of thought that his personality was unlike that system. But the

very force of Morris' socialism was the force of the man himself, the artist and enjoyer of the beautiful.

When in *Unto This Last* Ruskin pounded the doctrine that there is wealth aside from the gatherings in of the producer and trader he called forth on all sides indignant rebuke. In his four essays in *Cornhill* he took the field against the political economy of Ricardo and Malthus. He brought to his aid the soul of an artist and the vigor of a moralist. Not a socialist himself he followed the Christian Socialism of Maurice and prepared the way for the esthetic socialism of Morris.

It seems not a little strange that the three men to whom above all we owe this new socialism of art were men whose lives made possible every appreciation of the value of riches. Ruskin, Morris and Tolstoi all belonged to the wealthy class. Each was reared amid luxurious surroundings and to each was given in full measure opportunities for the appreciation and culture of beauty. It is because wealth has held in fee even the blessings of beauty that artists and poets—those who above all others would give mere beauty its due—have been blinded with the economists and have considered possession a fundamental good. Wealth gets our country places, plans our gardens, buys our pictures and statuary and tapestry. No wonder that even the professional lovers of these things came to look upon material wealth as fundamental. Here was a condition with which only the wealthy artist could cope. None other could see the true "worth while" behind the unwieldy medium of property. Only he who has possessed from birth the beauty in art and nature which wealth can buy can judge of the value of that beauty in and of itself. To the other the value of beauty is forever involved in the conventional question "How much capital is represented in that beauty?" or "By what means may I lay up enough wealth to suffice in exchange for it?" To the three men mentioned beauty was

a birthright. Unencumbered with the considerations of a practical world they could measure the value of the beauty in which they lived in terms of social wealth.

It is then an ideal combination that is found in the lives of these three men. First, they are artists with definite principles of expression and theories of the province of art in life. And then they are materially free artists. Their joy in their art was hampered by no sordid considerations of subsistence. Untrammelled artists and thinkers that they were they could not escape the social theories to which they came. Not as iconoclasts and philosophers but as artists and thinkers these men generalized on themselves and sought to find in the heart of all the world the passionate joy in beauty that they found in their own natures. They began life unquestioning believers in an inalienable human right to enjoy. When they found that this right was denied to many of their fellows they questioned the difference between themselves and other men (as does Tolstoi in *What Shall We Do Then?*) and discovered that difference to be statable in terms of material wealth.

When we say that the differences in enjoyment may be statable in terms of material wealth we do not mean that possession gives enjoyment. It is meant that a system of life in which all endeavor is bent to material accumulation has perverted the springs of joy.

There are in life what Whitman calls certain "primal sanities." Browning has sung the "mere joy of living," and Kipling in *L'Envoi* has struck the note of the "joy of the working." This latter is the artist's joy, says Morris. It is the joy of the healthy animal, beast or human, says Tolstoi. It is the inalienable right of all men, wise or simple, to have work to do which is worth doing and which they may find pleasant, holds the new esthetic socialism.

Here we get the bond between William Morris' theory of art and of life. "Art is the expression of man's joy in labor,"

Ruskin has said. The life of William Morris was keyed to this joy of creation. Art he made broader than it had ever before been. While the art principle is ordinarily applied only to those works which are done outside the sphere of utility Morris applied it to all labor that is worth while, to all life that is worth living. More strenuously still he insisted on its application to all men. To him applied art was consecrated art. The shoemaker who made shoes to the glory of God was not so religious as he was artistic. "The man is an artist who finds out what sort of work he is fitted for, and who by dint of will, good luck and a combination of various causes, manages to be employed upon the work he is fitted for—and when he is so employed upon it does it conscientiously and with pleasure because he can do it well," Morris wrote. Ruskin, more sententious for a change, had said the same thing in fewer words. "Life," said Ruskin, "without industry is guilt, and industry without art is brutality."

It would seem that if just the joy of creation is necessary, conditions should be happy as they are for surely there is labor enough. But it is labor without joy in it. It is labor ill directed because done under the impulse of acquisition. Not all labor is joyous and artistic. Only that which satisfies the individual craving for the beautiful expressed in the forms of one's own workmanship may so be considered. It has been the fact that labor has been directed to improper ends that has made it seem the bane of life. That socialism that is based on the *right to enjoy* is not misled by the fact that labor is held to be disagreeable. It would take away not the labor but the cause of labor's unpleasantness. It would change the poor man's labor from industrial serfdom to free and joyous creation. It would recreate the ancient ideal of the dignity of toil.

Out of a beautiful art idealism Morris evolved his socialism. He looked over the world of labor and found it sodden in

hopelessness. The deadly frenzy of commodity had made life a battle for the gaining and retaining of wealth. Society was based on war, complicated in concentric rings from embattled nations to newsboys fighting for crusts. All the resources of man's mind had been devoted to cheapening the means of acquiring wealth. The division of labor had taken joy out of work. The invention of machines had made slaves and produced waste. The age was one of "ceaseless endeavor to spend the least possible amount of labor on any article made, and yet at the same time, to make as many articles as possible. To this 'cheapening of production' as it was called everything was sacrificed—the happiness of the workman at his work, nay his most elementary comfort and bare health."

Morris' ideals were dynamic. As long as he remained an artist he could accomplish nothing. He would be an anchorite bawling in his cave. Recognizing that the fallacy of wealth upon which society depends is a universal one he wasted no time appealing to artists and employers to revolutionize their methods of work. He resolved to strike at the heart of the mass of the people, and by a campaign of education to modify their conception of life's verities.

William Morris' socialist idealism was grievously misunderstood and nowhere more than in the Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist League. Practical man though he was, he was never less practical than when he went into a revolutionary movement for the remaking of men's souls. Over and over again he preached that his doctrine was one of spiritual regeneration. As such, the movement for which he stood takes its place in the esthetic realm with the far-reaching slow-moving religious trends that count their advance in centuries. To Morris beauty was a religion. In speaking to his hordes of the London unemployed he was speaking an unknown language. He was attempting to accomplish a millenium in a day.

Yet these theories of his will take root. It was a significant day when the theory of the democracy of art was added to the idea of democracy of government. If democracy has failed in anything it has been in its failure to connect between theoretical rights considered in the mass and the special requirements of the individual citizen. As a result it has been found that a democratic civilization tends more and more to a dead level of type in opinion and taste. Convention is the most rigorous slave-master of to-day. Against this tendency of domination of the individual by the colorless average the esthetic socialism of William Morris is an efficient force. Socialism is always democratic but art is always individualistic. If democracy has conserved the mass at the expense of the individual we need art to arouse again in the individual the isolated joys of self-directed existence. That social organism that maintains a healthy public opinion and taste through the widest individual freedom will have the best solidarity.

In his combination of the utmost of democracy with the extreme of individualism Morris fell sometimes into apparent inconsistency. But it remains to be seen whether that inconsistency was not more apparent than real. Probably he is no more inconsistent than the ideal society would be in that Nowhere that Morris so beautifully depicts. Granted that a society like that of *News from Nowhere* could exist it would be a two-sided society. Like everything in the material world it would have an inside and an outside. The one is never inconsistent with the other though their purposes and forms may be different. Even when mankind dwells in perfect social accord there must be a secret chamber to which the individual may withdraw to commune with the beautiful and the good. According to Morris' own theory the Goths, though fired by a common inspiration, worked with individual joy the details of the great edifices that are their monuments.

With characteristic breadth Morris sets himself up as a spokesman for all men. All men may be artistic, says he. Oscar Wilde in *The Soul of Man Under Socialism* writes as the spokesman of art and the artists. I would protect art from the people, says he. With Morris it is art for the sake of man. With Wilde it is man for the sake of art. Yet both are socialists. To Oscar Wilde the public is the bugaboo of art. In trenchant sentences he pillories that inert, unresponsive mass called the public. "In England the arts that have escaped best are the arts in which the public take no interest." "The public make use of the classics of a country as a means of checking the progress of art." Behind this contempt for the public which we see in Wilde and the pity for the people we have seen in Morris there is the same spirit. But it is differently applied. Wilde looks upon that as a cause which Morris considers an effect. The uneducated, poorly appreciative people tend to degrade any art they touch. For this reason Wilde would deny art to the public until they are ready to receive it. Morris looks behind conditions as he sees them through a long series of causation. As well deny the hungry man food until he is sated, he would say. The arts are low because the people's spirits are enslaved. Instead of using this fact to show that the people should be denied art he uses it to emphasize the common need of art. Men's spirits are enslaved because they have no longer the liberating joy of labor. That there is no joy in labor Morris blames the economic system upon which our society is based. He would change the system, but leave art free.

"Art should never try to be popular. The public should try to make themselves artistic," says Wilde. If by the democracy of art we mean the conventionalizing of the fair face of beauty to a common type our scheme would be an ill one for art and for humanity. But William Morris knew art well enough



to be sure that the best there is in it is its impulse and idealism. Not to make the art common but to make universal its impulse was the dream of his esthetic socialism. "Art for art's sake" to him was balderdash. "Art for man's sake" expressed the ideal. And was he not right? The causes that make art good for a few of the people would not be inoperative if applied to all the people. Oscar Wilde in protecting his art from the unfit is pampering it. Morris would

say that it is the fact that the joy of art is denied the people that has made them unfit. How closely art has nestled to the simple uncouth breasts of nature history will show. If in the mutations of time the old art must die for the sake of a broader expression of the more universal heart of man it may be well for art. More important still, it may be well for man.

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## OUR VANISHING LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

BY THEODORE SCHROEDER.

**F**OR OVER a century it has been believed that we had abolished rule by divine right, and the accompanying infallibility of officialism, and that we have maintained inviolate the liberty of conscience, of speech and of press. However, this belief of ours is fast becoming a matter of illusion. Though a love for such liberty is still verbally avowed, yet in every conflict raising an issue over it, it is denied in practice. There is not a state in the Union to-day, in which the liberty of the press is not abridged upon several legitimate subjects of debate. Here will be discussed but one of these, and that perhaps the most unpopular.

By gradual encroachments and unconscious piling of precedent upon precedent, we are rapidly approaching the stage in which we will enjoy any liberties only by permission, not as a matter of right. In this progressive denial of the freedom of conscience, speech and press, all three branches of government have transgressed, without seriously disturbing the serene, sweet, century-long slumber, into which we are lulled, by the songs of liberty, whose echoes still resound in our ears, but whose meaning we have long since forgotten.

A century ago we thought that we had

settled all these problems of liberty. In all our constitutions we placed a verbal guarantee of liberty of speech and press, and then stupidly went to sleep, assuming that the Constitution had some mysterious and adequate potency for self-enforcement. This is the usual mistake, always so fatal to all liberties, and the multitude is too superficial and too much engrossed with a low order of selfish pursuits to discover that constitutions need the support of a public opinion which demands that every doubtful construction shall be resolved against the state and in favor of individual liberty.

In the absence of such construction, constitutions soon become the chains which enslave, rather than the safeguards of liberty. Thus it has come that under the guise of "judicial construction," all constitutions have been judicially amended, until those who, by a dependence upon the Constitution, endeavor to defend themselves in the exercise of a proper liberty, only make themselves ridiculous. Persons finding satisfaction or profit in repudiating constitutional guarantees, and combining therewith sufficient political power to ignore them with impunity, unconsciously develop in themselves a contempt for the fundamental equalities

which most founders of republics sought to maintain. This contempt is soon shared by those who find themselves the helpless victims of misplaced confidence in constitutions, and through them is transfused to the general public, until that which we should consider the sacred guarantee of our liberties becomes a joke, and those who rely upon it are looked upon as near to imbecility.

Some years ago a United States Senator (Mr. Cullom) was reported as saying that "in the United States there is no constitution but public opinion." We should also remember the unconscious humor which made Congressman Timothy Campbell famous. He was urging President Cleveland to sign a bill which had passed Congress and the latter objected because he believed the bill to be violative of the organic law. Our ingenious statesman broke in with this earnest plea: "What 's the Constitution as between friends?" General Trumbull once said: "The Constitution has hardly any existence in this country except as rhetoric. . . . By virtue of its sublime promise to establish justice, we have seen injustice done for nearly a hundred years. It answers very well for Fourth-of-July purposes, but as a charter of liberty, it has very little force." In Idaho, at the time of the official kidnaping of Moyer and others in Colorado, the attorney of these men tried to show the court the unconstitutionality of the procedure, when the baffled rage of the judge prompted him to exclaim: "I am tired of these appeals to the Constitution. The Federal Constitution is a defective, out-of-date instrument, anyhow, and it is useless to fetch that document into court. But Constitution or no Constitution, we have got the men we went after; they are here; they are going to stay here until we have had our final say, and I would like to know what is going to be done about it?" No wonder that the wise Herbert Spencer wrote: "Paper constitutions raise smiles on the faces of those who have observed their results."

¶ All this is true because the great mass

are indifferent to the constitutionally-guaranteed liberties of others, and so allow sordid self-interest and bigotry to add one limitation after another, until all freedom will be destroyed by judicial amendments to our charters of liberty. Furthermore, to most persons, the word liberty is only an empty sound, the meaning of which they know not, because they have never learned the reasons underlying it. Thus they are too stupid to be able to differentiate between their disapproval of an opinion and their opponent's right to disagree with them. They love their own power to suppress intellectual differences more than another's liberty of expressing them, and more than the progressive clarification of human conception of Truth, which can only come through freedom of discussion. Such persons specially owe to themselves, and to those against whom they are encouraging injustice, that they should read the defenses of liberty as made by the master-minds of the past.

That the state is a separate entity is a mere fiction of the law, which is useful within the very narrow limit of the necessities which called it into existence. This is judicially recognized by our courts and by thoughtful laymen. By getting behind the fiction, to view the naked fact, we discover that the state has no existence except as a few fallible office-holders, theoretically representing the public sentiment, expressing its power, sometimes doing good and often thriving on the ignorance and indifference of the masses. When we abolished the infallibility of rulers by divine right, we at the same time abolished the *political duty* of believing either in God or what was theretofore supposed to be His political creation, the State.

Henceforth government was to be viewed only as a human expedient, to accomplish purely secular human ends, and subject to be transformed or abolished at the will and discretion of those by whose will and discretion it was created and is maintained. The exclusively secular ends of government were to pro-

tect each equally in life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. So the fathers of our country in their Declaration of Independence wrote that: "Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it." Similar declarations were made by the separate colonies. Thus the Pennsylvania Declaration of Rights contains these words: "The community hath an indubitable, inalienable, and infeasible right to reform, alter or abolish, government, in such manner as shall be by that community judged most conducive to the public weal." In harmony with these declarations we made laws, such that political offenders, though they had been in open revolt to a tyrannous foreign government, or had slain the minions of the tyrant, they might here find a safe retreat from extradition.

All this has passed away. Formerly it was our truthful boast that we were the freest people on earth. To-day it is our silent shame that among all the tyrannical governments on the face of the earth ours is probably the only one which makes the right of admission depend upon the abstract political opinions of the applicant. Our people denounce the unspeakable tyranny of a bloody Czar, and pass laws here to protect him in the exercise of his brutalities in Russia. Instead of being "the land of the free and the home of the brave" we exclude from our shores those who are brave and seek freedom here, and punish men for expressing unpopular opinions if they already live here. In vain do the afflicted ones appeal to a "liberty loving" populace for help in maintaining liberty.

In this short essay I can discuss specifically only the denial of liberty of conscience, speech, and press, as it affects one class of citizens, and I choose to defend the most despised.

Under our immigration laws no anarchist, that is, "no person who disbelieves in or who is opposed to all organized governments" is allowed to enter the United States, even though such person be a non-resistant Quaker. In other words, the

person who believes with the signers of the Declaration of Independence that those who create and maintain governments have a right to abolish them, and who also desire to persuade the majority of their fellow-men to exercise this privilege, are denied the admission to our national domain.

Of course that and kindred legislation was the outgrowth of the most crass ignorance and hysteria, over the word "anarchist." I say most crass ignorance deliberately, because to me it is unthinkable that any sane man with an intelligent conception of what is believed by such non-resistant anarchists as Count Tolstoi, could possibly desire to exclude him from the United States. It almost seems as though most people were still so unenlightened as not to know the difference between socialism, anarchism, and regicide, and so wanting in imagination that they cannot possibly conceive of a case in which the violent resistance or resentment of tyranny might become excusable. Thus it is that the vast multitude whose education is limited to a newspaper intelligence, stupidly assume that no one but an anarchist could commit a political homicide, and that every anarchist of necessity condones every such taking of human life. Nothing of course could be farther from the fact, but out of this ignorance it comes that every attempt at violence upon officials is charged against anarchists even before it is known who the perpetrator was, and without knowing or caring whether he was an anarchist, a socialist, an ordinary democrat, a man with a personal grudge, or a lunatic. From such foundation of ignorance comes the result that we punish those who disagree with the English tyrant of a couple of centuries ago, who said that the worst government imaginable was better than no government at all.

For the benefit of those whose indolence precludes them from going to a dictionary to find out what "anarchism" stands for I will take the space necessary to quote Professor Huxley on the subject. He says:

"Doubtless, it is possible to imagine a true 'Civitas Dei,' in which every man's moral faculty shall be such as leads him to control all those desires which run counter to the good of mankind, and to cherish only those which conduce to the welfare of society; and in which every man's native intellect shall be sufficiently strong and his culture sufficiently extensive to enable him to know what he ought to do and to seek after. And in that blessed State, police will be as much a superfluity as every other kind of government. . . . Anarchy, as a term of political philosophy, must be taken only in its proper sense, which has nothing to do with disorder or with crimes; but denotes a state of society, in which the rule of each individual by himself is the only government the legitimacy of which is recognized. Anarchy, as thus far defined, is the logical outcome of the form of political theory which, for the last half-century and more, has been known under the name of Individualism."

And men who merely believe this beautiful ideal attainable are unfit for residence in a land that boasts of freedom of conscience and press!

If the distinguished and scholarly author of the *Life of Jesus*, M. Ernest Renan, should be Commissioner of Immigration, he would, under present laws, be compelled to exclude from the United States the founder of Christianity, should He seek admission. In his *Life of Jesus*, Renan expresses this conclusion: "In one view Jesus was an anarchist for he had no notion of civil government, which seemed to him an abuse, pure and simple. . . . Every magistrate seemed to him a natural enemy of the people of God. . . . His aim is to annihilate wealth and power, not to grasp them."

If the Rev. Heber Newton were Commissioner of Immigration, he, too, would have to exclude Jesus from our land as an anarchist. Dr. Newton says: "Anarchism is in reality the ideal of political and social science, and also the ideal of religion. It is the ideal to which Jesus

Christ looked forward. Christ founded no church, established no state, gave practically no laws, organized no government and set up no external authority, but he did seek to write on the hearts of men God's law and make them self-legislating."

Surely people who only ask the liberty of trying to persuade their fellow-men to abolish government, through passive resistance, cannot possibly be a menace to any institution worth maintaining, yet such men we deny admission into the United States. If they chance to be Russians, we send them back, perhaps to end their days as Siberian exiles, and all because they have expressed a mere abstract "disbelief in government," though accompanied only by a desire for passive resistance.

Julian Hawthorne wrote this: "Did you ever notice that all the interesting people you meet are Anarchists?" According to his judgment, "all the interesting people" would, under present laws, be excluded from the United States. An industrious commissioner, zealous to enforce the law to the very letter, could easily take the writings of the world's best and greatest men, and if foreigners, on their own admissions, could exclude them because they had advocated the anarchist ideal of a "disbelief in government." Among such might be named the following: Count Leo Tolstoi, Prince Peter Kropotkin, Michel Montaigne, Thomas Paine, Henry Thoreau, Lord Macaulay, William Lloyd Garrison, Hall Caine, Turgot, Simeon of Durham, Bishop of St. Andrews, Max Stirner, Elisée Reclus, Frederick Nietzsche, Thomas Carlyle, Horace Traubel, Walt. Whitman, Elbert Hubbard, Samuel M. Jones, Henrik Ibsen, Joseph Proudhon, Michael Bakunin, Charles O'Connor, and probably also Ralph Waldo Emerson, Thomas Jefferson, Herbert Spencer, John Stuart Mill, and—but what's the use? They can't all be named.

These are the type of men who hold an ideal, only a dream, perhaps, of liberty without the invasion even of government,



and therefore we make a law to exclude them from the United States. But that is not all we do in this "free" country. If a resident of this "land of the free" should "connive or conspire" to induce any of these non-resistants, who "disbelieve in governments," to come to the United States, by sending one of them a printed or written, private or public, invitation to visit here, such "conspirer" would be liable to a fine of five thousand dollars, or three years' imprisonment, or both. And yet we boast of our freedom of conscience, of speech and of press!

It is hard for me to believe that there is any sane adult, worthy to be an American, who knows something of our own revolutionary history, who does not believe revolution by force to be morally justifiable under some circumstances, as perhaps in Russia, and who would not defend the revolutionists in the slaughter of the official tyrants of Russia, if no other means for the abolition of their tyranny were available, or who would not be a revolutionist if compelled to live in Russia and denied the right to even agitate for peaceable reform. And yet "free" America, by a congressional enactment, denies admission to the United States of any Russian patriot who agrees with us in this opinion, even though he has no sympathy whatever with anarchist ideals. It is enough that he justifies (even though in open battle for freedom) the "unlawful" killing of any tyrant "officer" of "any civilized nation having an organized government." Here, then, is the final legislative announcement that no tyranny, however heartless or bloody, "of any civilized nation having an organized government" can possibly justify violent resistance. It was a violation of this law to admit Maxim Gorky into this country, though he is not an anarchist.

In the state of New York, although satisfied with American conditions and officials, and although you believe in democratic government, if you should orally, or in print, advocate the cause of

forcible revolution against Russia, or against "any civilized nation having an organized government," you would be liable, under a state statute, to a fine of \$5,000 and ten years' imprisonment besides. Have we, then, freedom of conscience, speech and press? Do we love liberty or know its meaning?

Yes, it may be that a dispassionate and enlightened judge must declare such laws unconstitutional, but such judges are as scarce as the seekers after martyrdom who are willing to make a test case. Hence we all submit to this tyranny. Furthermore, the same hysteria which could make legislators believe they had the power to pass such a law, in all probability would also induce courts to confirm such power. A Western jurist, a member of the highest court of his state, once said to me that it must be a very stupid lawyer who could not write a plausible opinion on either side of any case that ever came to an appellate court. Given the mental predisposition induced by popular panic, together with intense emotions, and it is easy, very easy, to formulate verbal "interpretations" by which the constitutional guarantees are explained away, or exceptions interpolated,—a common process for the judicial amendment of laws and constitutions.

If, then, we truly believe in the liberty of conscience, speech and press, we must place ourselves again squarely upon the declaration of rights made by our forefathers, and defend the right of others to disagree with us, even about the beneficence of government.

As when your neighbor's house is on fire your own is in danger, so the protection of your liberty should begin when it is menaced by a precedent which attacks your opponent's equality of opportunity to express his disagreement with you. Let us then unite for the repeal of these iniquitous laws, born of hysteria and popular panic, and maintained in thoughtless disregard of others' intellectual freedom.

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*New York City.*

## IS RAILROAD RATE-REGULATION A STEP TO GOVERNMENT-OWNERSHIP?

BY EDWIN F. GRUHL AND EDGAR E. ROBINSON

"I have already reached the conclusion that railroads partake so much of the nature of a monopoly that they must ultimately become public property, and be managed by public officials in the interests of the whole community in accordance with the well-defined theory that public ownership is necessary where competition is impossible. I do not know that the country is ready for this change: I do not know that a majority of my own party favor it, but I believe that an increasing number of the members of all parties see in public ownership the only sure remedy for discrimination between persons and places and for extortionate rates for the carrying of freight and passengers. . . . The high-handed method in which they have violated the laws and ignored authority, together with the corruption discovered in high places has done more to create sentiment in favor of public ownership than all the speeches and arguments of the opponents of private ownership."—*William Jennings Bryan, at Madison Square Garden, August 30, 1906.*

THIS recent utterance of Mr. Bryan, coming as it does from a thoughtful student of American conditions, who has had an opportunity to form his conclusions unbiased by the recent railroad agitation, has created endless comment. The average American citizen, whose interest in great issues often does not extend beyond the front page of the newspaper and who had at least hoped that the railroad problem had been solved, was surprised at this seemingly radical utterance coming as it does from a man of world-wide prominence, but a careful review of the literature of the past agitation already consigned to the rubbish heap of "settled" political questions shows that the thoughtful citizen in every walk of life had already reached kindred conclusions although not clearly expressed as such. There are but three alternatives,—*laissez faire*, government regulation, government ownership. The failure of regulation leaves a choice of the other two alternatives. Hence the importance of the question, Is regulation a step to ownership? The object of this paper is to review and classify the re-

cently-expressed opinions and arguments on this point. For convenience we will discuss the matter from four view-points—that of the statesman, the economist, the lawyer, and the railroad man. The distinction is an arbitrary one. Few confine themselves to one point-of-view in their arguments.

I. The statesman, carefully scrutinizing the trend of public opinion and weighing the expediency of government activity, urges as follows:

(a.) President Roosevelt took pains in his last annual message and on his Southern trip to impress the fact that government regulation was the only safeguard against government ownership. William J. Bryan has for a long time expressed himself in favor of government regulation because it was a step to government ownership, while Mr. Richard Olney, ex-Secretary of State under Cleveland, opposes regulation because it is a step to government ownership. The views of these worthy men, so much at variance, have been the occasion of much editorial wit, yet they do not differ essentially. Mr. Roosevelt took for granted that the people would be satisfied with his plan of rate-regulation, while Mr. Bryan and Mr. Olney supposed that, like Oliver Twist, they would continually ask for "more." We may judge for ourselves which is the more probable and statesman-like view of the trend of public opinion. One thing is certain, Mr. Roosevelt's ideas of rate-regulation have been considerably tempered by conservatism since his Southern trip, while with increased delay public opinion has traveled in the opposite direction. Senator Clay of Georgia said in his speech in the Senate on January 22d: "Let me say to

you now that public sentiment in favor of government ownership is growing every day. I am not in favor of it, but unless you check it by government regulation you will watch it grow and continue to grow." We cannot expect popular clamor to cease until some relief is granted for present abuses. As Congressman Joseph Goulden stated in the House on February 2d: "Continued failure must lead to the question of government ownership, short of which it does not seem that the matter could be regulated. When all other means are found to be inadequate the country will have to face that question."

(b.) Says a prominent college president: "The only benefit I can see in government control is that it is a step toward government ownership. Under a democratic form of government like our own, the people have to be educated and disciplined before they can appreciate the need of reform. The attempt at government control will be such a discipline."

(c.) The movement for government ownership of railroads has already been started in the municipal-ownership of electric car-lines, water-works and street-lighting plants. The general success of the ownership of public utilities in municipalities by the public has done more than anything else to substantiate the more conservative claims of the advocates of such action, and to remove the more extravagant fears of the political pessimist. Municipal-ownership of public utilities is rapidly growing in favor. Doubtless the time will come in this country when under the beneficent results of its successful operation men will wonder how private-ownership was ever tolerated.

(d.) That government regulation is a step to government-ownership is amply evidenced by the experiences of foreign countries. Italy, which in 1885 abandoned government-ownership, again resumed it in 1906 as far the better solution of the problem. Switzerland, which prior to 1898 was almost wholly operated and controlled by five private companies, has gradually assumed complete control.

Germany has recently purchased the few remaining privately-owned roads in that country, this being the last step of a policy of general encroachment inaugurated by Prince Bismarck. France is but waiting the expiration of contracts with private companies. It is the same story of gradual encroachment in Russia, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Belgium. Mexico has distinctly passed through every stage of the proceedings from general supervision to complete ownership in the short period of 1898-1903. As Senator Foraker said in an Ohio speech: "Bryan may well entertain the views for experience of other countries where the two systems have been tried shows that without exception government-ownership has proven less injurious than government rate-making." President Hadley of Yale, in the *Boston Evening Transcript* of April 1, 1905, says: "I do not know a single instance of successful rate-making by a government which attempted to control roads somebody else operated." Says ex-Governor Larrabee of Iowa in the same newspaper, February 18, 1905: "Congress must provide for efficient government restrictions, or government-ownership is inevitable. Government-ownership is not the bugbear to intelligent people that it was a few years ago. Those who have made a thorough and impartial examination of the subject are surprised to find that the objections to it are far less than are generally supposed. Nearly all foreign governments have adopted government-ownership of railroads to a greater or less extent and their experience of many years has proved it to be entirely practicable, and upon the whole shows much better results than private management."

II. The economist, fearing for competition, urges as follows:

(a.) The railroad is by nature a monopoly. For, according to Professor Richard T. Ely, it possesses all the characteristics of a natural monopoly. It is "a business which controls a peculiarly desirable location, which can increase its service

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without corresponding cost and which supplies a service available only in connection with its plant. Private monopoly is intolerable in a free country. Such an enterprise must be regulated by the State or must be owned by the State. The object of regulation is to secure a safe, efficient and inexpensive service for the public." The professor concludes that regulation has not brought greater safety and that "private enterprise when it becomes monopolistic ceases to be enterprising, and cannot be made so by regulation," while "in the matter of expense our judgment must be most severe."

(b.) Consolidation of the railroads of the United States has developed to an alarming extent since 1900. The roads being capitalized at something over \$13,000,000,000, one-seventh of the total wealth of the nation is in the hands of six great groups, who operate nine-tenths of the total mileage of the United States. The coöperative spirit is the cloak under which much of this centralization of ownership has been carried on. For instance, the Pennsylvania road owns and operates 150 dependent roads, the New York Central something over 100 such roads. In few instances have the original names been changed. Among the six great groups such "community of interest" is realized that in the matter of hostility to government regulation they are already one. Where combination is possible and profitable, competition is impossible. Issue must be taken with this centralized and consolidated monopoly. Says Governor Cummins of Iowa, in his testimony before the Senate Committee, "Whenever the railroads are consolidated in one great company, I think that great company will be the United States." Commenting upon this tendency, a distinguished economist recently said: "I cannot think of any other industrial development that would be so great a menace either to our political integrity or our industrial welfare."

(c.) By far the greatest danger of railroads in private hands,—a danger that

will necessitate increased regulation as it becomes more and more felt,—is the effect upon the general competitive field. Railroad rates, playing as they do such an important part in the business world, private carriers possess the power of life or death, not only over single competitors but over entire competing communities. The possibility of the misuse of this power coupled with the uncertain business conditions that it creates, make it questionable whether it should be lodged in private hands. The power to restrict competition or to turn it into other channels can reside only in the National Government. This principle is recognized in our protective policy. Inequality of railroad rates produces economically the same effect as a protective tariff and, in fact, in Germany, is used as a commercial barrier.

III. The lawyer, in view of fundamental legal difficulties, forecasts the result as follows:

(a.) Under our dual form of government, Congress may legislate only over interstate commerce and legislatures only over state commerce. Power so divided makes it impossible to insure a system of uniform regulation. "The situation to be anticipated then, is that railroads, private properties and representing private investments aggregating billions of dollars, will find themselves controlled in the vital matter of their charges by two public boards—one representative of local interests and the other of national interests, and both antagonistic to the interests of the private owners concerned. The two boards will aim at the lowest possible rates, each in behalf of the particular business under its charge, and will therefore be in constant rivalry with each other in the endeavor to extort from the carrier the best service at the smallest cost. Under these conditions anything like just, skilful, reasonable or stable rate-making becomes impossible. A situation is created intolerable alike to the carriers and the public, and the sure outcome—unless the whole scheme of gov-



ernment rate-making is abandoned—is government-ownership.”\* The same opinion was expressed by Senator Morgan of Alabama in his speech before the Senate, January 9, 1906.

(b.) The law of the land declares that railroad rates shall be reasonable alike to the investor and to the shipper. This double claim for justice makes the distinction between what is reasonable and what is not reasonable an exceeding fine one. Reasonableness of rates must be determined accurately, quickly and absolutely. If this is impossible, regulation must fail. Neither cost of service nor value of service can determine it, for it is impossible to ascertain what these are. Nor can comparison be used as a basis. The words “just and reasonable” do not imply comparison, for decisions of the courts hold that rates must not only be comparatively reasonable but reasonable in themselves. Again the commissions are not certain what constitutes a reasonable rate. The Interstate Commerce Commission in its 1903 report, page 54, admits this: “It is difficult to say what constitutes a reasonable rate although the Supreme Court has given certain rules by which to test that reasonableness. Although the commission has endeavored to apply those rules, yet whenever it has questioned railroad officials as to whether or not they were governed by them in making rates, they have invariably answered in the negative and declared that to do so would be impractical. The carriers do not apparently possess such data and there is at present no other source from which to obtain such data.” Then to what purpose has additional power been bestowed upon the commission. Justice Brewer says: “No more difficult problem can be presented than this.” (64 *Federal Reporter*, 165.) Senator La Follette of Wisconsin said in his speech before the Senate: “When you clothe a commission merely with the power to ascertain whether rates are

simply relatively reasonable, but withhold from it all authority and all means of determining whether those rates are just and reasonable, you cannot expect that legislation to settle the matter.”

IV. The railroad man holds a practical business view:

(a.) “The industries of the country as they exist to-day, prosperous and growing as they are, rely upon the present relation of rates, based upon commercial considerations, competitive and otherwise. All this will be changed. The commission will undo the results which the competition of waterways and railways and the opening of new markets have created. It will inaugurate its own system of equality and uniformity, giving to each city and to each industry the rates to which they think it is naturally entitled by reason of its geographical position. . . . From this condition there will be, in a republic with universal suffrage, but one way out—government-ownership; there can be no backward step.”†

(b.) A prominent railroad official recently said: “If the railway companies are to be interfered with in making the rates for their services, without government assuming any responsibility for the obligations and expenditures of the railway companies, such confusion and trouble will naturally follow as to make it right and proper for the government to take over the railways, absolutely. No business of any kind can be successfully carried on, if the authority to fix prices and the responsibility for debts and expenses, are not lodged in the same hands. This is a fundamental law, ascertained by efforts of government in past times to regulate prices of commodities. No government with pretensions to civilization and intelligence, attempts now to do such a thing.” The same idea was expressed by William Sproule before the Commonwealth Club of California on September 13, 1905.

\*Richard Olney, in *North American Review*, November, 1905.

†W. W. Baldwin, address before Denver Philosophical Society, November 23, 1905.

(c.) "The effect of such regulation undoubtedly would be the curtailment of future railroad constructions and improvements, not only by reason of the impairment of railroad credit, but also from the unwillingness of investors to own or to enlarge property, the revenues of which would be practically under governmental or political control and the expenses still be subject to the uncertainties of industrial conditions."\*

These, then, are briefly the lines of argument which have led the farsighted statesman, the learned economist, the skilful lawyer and the practical railroad

man, each from his separate view-point and each following his distinct trend of thought to come to the conclusion that regulation is a step to government-ownership. From the vehemence with which it was scoffed at by the less thoughtful, and the persistency with which it crept into the brief of argument of the more conservative, it may be gathered that, even if concealed, the question, "Is railroad rate-regulation a step to government-ownership?" was undoubtedly an issue in the much-debated railroad question.

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## CHURCH AND STATE IN FRANCE.

By J. ROMIEUX.

**N**O COUNTRY was ever converted to Catholicism in so short a time as France. Historians assign as the reason for that quick change some likeness between Druidism and the new religion. Whatever may be the cause of it, we must recognize that at the time of Clovis almost all Gauls were followers of Christ. Invaders sought the support of the Clergy, and the Franks with Clovis were called to the West by priests. To them also is due the conversion of this chief and his elevation to kinship with the Gauls. Charlemagne increased the Church power and endowed the Pope with the Roman States. His successors acted in the same spirit and the Crusades also served to give prominence to the Clergy.

With such a start, it is not surprising that the Church at the time of the French Revolution was so rich and so powerful. Church properties escaped taxation and this was one of the principal causes of the

downfall of royalty and the rise of democracy.

The clerical orders did not want to be taxed, they wished to satisfy the nation by voluntary gifts. At least this was the idea of the aristocratic part of the order. When the States General split, many clergymen went with the *Tiers Etat* and formed at the end of the Revolution what has been called the "Constitutional Clergy."

When Napoleon, then First Consul, reorganized the Catholic Church, he was put to great trouble to get appointments for these sworn priests.

The Concordat between the Pope and France was a patched-up treaty and was followed by the "*Articles Organiques*."

To understand the recent dispute between France and Rome we must see what was done at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The First Consul believed in religion; his early education had been Catholic and, although not a great churchgoer himself, as a ruler he favored some form of ortho-

\*President Samuel Spencer in his address before the Traffic Club of Pittsburg, April 7, 1905.

dox worship. His associates and friends did all they could to dissuade him from reëstablishing the old Church and suggested that he should form a new religion. Bonaparte disregarded their advice and demonstrated to them the foolishness of their plan; he remembered what a failure had been the cult of Reason under the Revolution.

At this time there were two Churches in France: one composed of sworn priests, the other of the so-called orthodox. The former were in possession of churches and other properties, the latter only were trusted by the faithful and attended to their spiritual wants. These divisions were alarming and caused distrust everywhere.

Bonaparte was acquainted personally with Pope Pius VII. By request, M. Spina was sent to Paris by the Holy See. For a long time, nothing could be done. Tired of lengthy discussions, Talleyrand and de Hauterive were ordered by the First Consul to draw a treaty which was offered for the signature of M. Spina. This draft contained substantially the terms of the Concordat, which was signed by both parties on the 15th of July, 1801.

The Pope accepted it because he could do no better; Bonaparte did not ask for greater concessions because he wanted to come to a prompt agreement. It is likely that both of them hoped later on to perfect the pact. This was apparent in that the Concordat was followed by the "*Articles Organiques*."

The "*Articles Organiques*" constituted the *modus vivendi* of the French clergy in France. Since there has been a Minister of Churches, this minister has to rule over the church's tenants according to certain laws. It has been said that priests became government officers and were therefore liable to government control. Paid by the French government and living within its jurisdiction, they might be ruled spiritually by Popes; but they were not thereby absolved from obedience to the State. For many years

no substantial objections were made to these Articles.

However, the Popes never recognized them formally. They were communicated to M. Caprara, who sent a copy of the rules to Pius VII. The latter's reply shows that Rome accepted them but hoped that they would never be applied as a whole.

Indeed, under Napoleon I., Louis XVIII., Charles X., Louis Philippe, the second Empire, France and Rome did not develop any disagreement. The kings and emperor needed the support of the Church and the middle class was not anti-catholic.

The Republic born after the Franco-Prussian war was at first too fully occupied in other directions to dispute with Rome. When it finally came to this question, the government faced two alternatives: whether to maintain the Concordat or let the Church live alone and become, as formerly, a power in the State. They decided for the former.

But Frenchmen were sore, when, depressed by the Franco-Prussian war's disasters and in bad need of troops, they recalled from Rome the few soldiers left there, Garibaldi took possession of the city and the papal court made fun of the French misfortunes.

It was at this time that Freemasonry rapidly gained ground among the "Bourgeoisie" and with the ascendance of the "Bourgeoisie" became a factor in the nation's affairs. Church and Freemasonry do not go together in Latin countries. The latter in France is atheist and antagonistic to the Catholic Church. To these leaders is due the new law.

Foreigners are surprised that the government could enact such legislation in a Catholic country. Travelers and tourists go through Paris and see churches crowded. But Paris is not France and in spite of the large attendance at the services, thousands are not attending. The strength of religion is with the women and with the royalist and Bonapartist parties. The workingman has no re-

ligion. Often he hates priests. The peasants are not very different, and except in a few sections, such as Bretagne and Vendée, the churches are deserted.

Catholicism remains because of woman's influence. Even the leaders of the nation have Catholic wives. Children are brought up by the mother and to their eighteenth or twentieth year sons go to church and then each one does as he pleases. In the same family you may see a devout Catholic and a thirty-third degree Freemason.

We must say also that, although France enjoys a universal suffrage in elections, officers of the army and navy do not vote as long as they remain in active service. And many people who shout loudly against the "horrible" leaders, are very careful not to vote.

With such conditions confronting them it required the diplomacy of a Leo XIII. and Rampolla to deal with the French government.

When they were superseded, trouble began. To the new secretary of state, Bishop Merry Del Val, is due the rupture. Truly the French leaders waited only for the occasion. The law against Congregations was endorsed by the nation when the actual deputies were elected. It is only proper to say that even Catholics at this time recognized that there were too many convents, but they never thought of the great numerical increase of monks and nuns.

But what of this new law?

In America we think it is good for both Church and State to keep them separated. But in France this would not work in favor of the Church.

First of all, Frenchmen are not accus-

tomed to pay direct tax for the support of religion, and the new associations must be composed of laymen. Of course, for a few years to come the rich Catholic will pay for himself and many more. He will pride himself in showing to the government that its support was not needed to maintain in the future what exists to-day. But he is French, that rich man, and within five years he will think the burden too heavy. He may then be willing to pay his share, but no more. And this will be the beginning of the end.

Thousands of churches will be closed for lack of funds.

Then what becomes of St. Peter's Pence? France was a heavy contributor to it; but now French Catholics have their own burdens. Charity begins at home and the Popes will have to look somewhere else for money.

Is, then, the new law partisan? Yes, it is, and it will work havoc amongst the Catholics who do not even retain the churches. These belong to the State and municipalities, to be rented from them if the church is willing to do so.

What will be the outcome of the crisis? It is hard to tell at present. Church-and-State struggles last for years and when we think that the former is down forever, it rises stronger than before. Freemasonry has to deal with a power which is as much secret as it is and acts on the inner part of the people. Its only chance of final victory is in the versatile mind of Frenchmen. A society in that country may keep at its aim for a long time. Will the Catholics show the same spirit long enough to give them victory?

J. ROMIEUX.

*Duluth, Minn.*



## A WANING OF THE INTEREST IN COMPARATIVE ANATOMY IN THIS COUNTRY.

By R. W. SHUFELDT, M.D.

FOR SOME time past I have had it in mind to call attention to the very evident lack of interest that is being taken at the present time in this country in the cultivation and progress of the important science of comparative anatomy. To my mind this decreasing interest may now be truthfully spoken of as a positive decadence.

Within comparatively recent times there has rapidly taken possession of our people as a whole a fierce craving for the certain and sudden acquisition of wealth. Everything else is suffering in this mad race for money, while we appear to be utterly ignorant of what the future outcome of it all may be in so far as the life and growth of science, literature, the fine arts, the drama and national morals are concerned. It is the influence and the work of men and women in these several callings that make a nation great and respected by the world, and not her millionaires, or at least the millions that any number of individuals may gather into their several coffers. When the question is in everyone's mouth, and the thought is uppermost in everyone's mind,—Will this or that pay?—meaning in a financial way, then, indeed, may we count our vaunted civilization a miserable failure. It has been the Darwins, the Huxleys, the Tyndalls, and her army of writers and thinkers in all departments and activities who, in recent and past times, have made England great in the estimation of the entire world, and certainly not her money-hoarders. And so it has been with all other nations, and certain it is that America will be so rated at any period of her civilization, and thus form no exception to the general rule.

Now as to the importance of such a science as comparative anatomy—and I

am not at all sure but what I am now about to point out may also be more or less true of other lines of research in biology, as comparative physiology and morphology as a whole—this science, or these sciences and their importance, I say, are largely responsible for the most material and substantial advances that have at all times been made in medicine and surgery. They have been largely responsible in the demonstration of the law of organic evolution,—a law that has revolutionized the entire thought of the modern world; while the researches in these sciences have tended to improve the power of correct observation in the cases of scores of America's best thinkers and profound philosophers.

I have been a researcher, a writer, an illustrator, a teacher and a publisher in this science for twenty-five years, and I have personal letters from such men as Darwin, Huxley, and hundreds of other savants in all parts of the world, recognizing and acknowledging the value of my early work. This is stated simply as a fact and in no egotistical way. It permits me to speak with authority and to judge of what others have told me or have observed in the same field. At the outset I may say that the number of exhaustive, far-reaching and solid contributions to the published literature of comparative anatomy in this country, by American anatomists and based on American material, is becoming markedly less and less every year. Taken in connection with the number of our population it practically amounts to *nil* at this writing. We have no great journals or magazines devoted exclusively to the science of comparative anatomy in this country,—a most pitiable confession for an American to make. Some ten years

ago the great leader in this respect was the *Journal of Morphology*, now as dead as dead can be, despite the valiant efforts of its last editor, Dr. C. O. Whitman, Professor of Zoölogy in the University of Chicago, to save it.

A number of years ago I collected from every available source open to me in the world a mass of material to illustrate two important groups of birds, osteologically. When printed either would make a large quarto volume with many full-page plates. As these memoirs now stand in manuscript they are of *no use to anybody*. They are the most extensive contributions of the kind in existence. When Mr. Carnegie generously provided ten millions for the publication of such work, I submitted them to the proper persons at Washington, with the view of having them published. There being no comparative anatomists on the board capable of judging of the value of such work, both memoirs were returned to me without their even having been examined. For the last two or three years these same two memoirs have been awaiting publication in the Carnegie Museum at Pittsburg. Since this experience I have ceased to submit my work on comparative anatomy in this country for publication, and it rests on the shelves of my study. Did space permit I could tell of many similar experiences—happenings of very recent years—that have not only befallen me, but that refer to the labors of some of the most distinguished researchers in comparative anatomy in this great country of ours. But who cares?

Still one more personal experience. During the last four years I have completed 1,400 pages of manuscript and 150 photographs of mammals for a two-volume work on *The Game Mammals of the United States*. It is thoroughly popular in treatment and covers the life histories, classification, geographical distribution and nomenclature of all the game and fur-bearing mammals of this country. It has been rejected for publication by no fewer than five of the largest publishing

houses in the city of New York, for the reason that the demand for such works no longer exists. It was carefully examined by the experts of G. P. Putnam's Sons of New York city, and accepted for publication, provided the author put up the money for the expense.

A few years ago a well-known comparative anatomist of this country wrote an illustrated and formal work on comparative anatomy. It was carefully examined by the late William Kitchen Parker, Vice-president of the Royal Society of England, and published by the firm of Macmillan & Company of London, to whom it had been offered by Professor Parker. The Macmillans now report that but 150 copies of the work were sold, and the balance were disposed of for waste-paper at eight pence per copy.

The late Professor E. D. Cope, the most distinguished biologist in this country at the time of his death, failed to publish a popular work he had written on comparative paleontology, and consulted with the present writer with the view of having him use his influence with the Macmillans to have them accept it.

There is a department of a very large institution in New York city that supplies museums, colleges and the primary schools in the United States with material for the study of comparative anatomy. The head of this department recently informed me that the demand for such material had fallen off to such an extent lately that the firm was very much concerned indeed about the matter, and he greatly deplored the present lack of interest in such studies in the United States. He went on to state that the interest was distinctly decreasing from year to year and that it was very evident that Americans did not believe that the study of comparative anatomy paid.

A scientist friend of mine who has a very wide knowledge of this subject gave it as his opinion that there was no work of any importance in comparative anatomy now being done in the United States,

—that is, individual undertakings of any great extent.

The increase of wealth is now rapid and passing all conception; finance is the bugle-call of the coming young American, the goal the coveted million. Mean-

while the manuscripts of the toilers in science lie rotting on the shelves. In the insane race, the racers do not believe that they can be made to pay.

R. W. SHUFELDT.

*New York City.*

## THE BRINGING OF THE KINGDOM.

BY JESSE F. ORTON.

**D**OES the Church really desire that God's kingdom should come and that his will should be done on earth as it is in heaven? Is it working intelligently and earnestly toward this end?

The doing of God's will on earth means a great deal. It means the realization of the standard of character set up by Jesus when he said the whole duty of man is found in love to God and love to fellowmen. It means that men shall dwell together as brothers, the children of a common father.

The Church has done much work for human brotherhood in the past, but usually the field of labor has been limited in extent. In certain of the most important fields of life, the church has seldom gone, and as a consequence it has not been the power that it might be for the bringing of the kingdom and the doing of God's will. What are some of the neglected fields? The first step toward realizing true brotherhood, is that a man should respect his brother's rights. To call a man my brother and yet deny to him the rights which I claim for myself, is a contradiction of terms. I may deceive myself into the belief that I love him and I may give him alms or charity; but if I do not recognize him as having equal rights with myself to the gifts of our common Father, equal rights to the means of life, development and enjoyment, I do not treat him as a brother, and I am not bringing the kingdom of God upon earth.

The words of Jesus strike deep; the reign of love among men would indeed

bring the kingdom of God. But the Church has never quite dared to attempt the complete application of this doctrine. In many ways it has not yet taken the first step; for the first step toward real brotherhood is the recognition of the rights of men as brothers. This step must be taken before love in the sense of sacrifice is possible. In utter disregard of this truth, we have often applauded those who attempt to be charitable before they are just. I use the word attempt, because it is as impossible to be truly charitable before being just as it is to take the second step upon a journey before we take the first.

More than half a century ago, when some men were still the legal property of other men, the church counseled masters to be kind or generous to their slaves. It did not take the initiative in demanding that masters should take the first step demanded by justice, to restore to slaves their freedom, the birthright of all children of a common father. The master could never be kind to his slave in the true sense so long as he denied him the right of self-dominion which he claimed for himself.

In our day we often encourage or commend so-called charity when what is needed is justice instead. It is so much easier to seem to be charitable than to be really just. To keep up a good appearance of charity, may take no more than one-tenth of our income, when to be really just might compel us to surrender one-half or nine-tenths of it. What the submerged classes in society need first, is not

a dole of alms, but a recognition of their equal rights to the common inheritance of the race and a fair chance to improve their own condition. With these rights accorded them, they might need no alms. Charity without justice is futile; it destroys the self-respect of him who takes and deceives the conscience of him who gives. But when justice has first been done, then charity, if perchance it is needed, becomes a beneficent thing, binding together and ennobling both those who give and those who receive.

It is often a cause for regret among religious people, that the poor and the so-called laboring classes do not attend church or join in church activities. We sometimes reproach ourselves that we are not more friendly with those who come, or that we wear too fine clothes so that many persons do not feel at ease in the church. I believe these reasons for the failure to reach the masses, are merely superficial. The fundamental reason is that the masses feel that we are out of sympathy with them, or at least that we do not actively support them, in their struggle for justice, for the equal rights which the children of a common father ought to have. We shall never reach the masses effectively until we are willing to take the first step before we attempt to take the second, to do justice before we attempt to give charity.

I have pointed out that justice comes first because it is the basis and beginning of all love. There are other and very practical reasons why it should come first. The realization of unselfishness and the development of the spiritual nature, is the goal in building character and is the chief aim of the Church; but spiritual qualities must grow out of and rest upon the physical and the intellectual. It is useless to expect to develop fine spirit in bodies that are half-starved by lack of nutrition or half-stupified by excessive labor. For example, so long as children of tender years are having their physical strength and their mental vigor drained by grinding toil, when they ought to be developing body

and mind at home and in school, so long will it be impossible to build up in them a high spiritual character and make of them worthy members of society. God's kingdom cannot come until all his children have a chance to develop into complete men and women of whom it is not a travesty to say they are made in God's image. His will cannot be done upon earth so long as men distort the image of God by making beasts of burden of their fellowmen.

But, it will be said, religion must not meddle with politics, and these matters are to some extent political. If it is the mission of religion to bring the kingdom of God upon earth, and to bring it completely, then we must not be frightened by words. We must look to the essence of things and determine what is necessary to bring the kingdom and cause the doing of God's will. I believe that the church, in the days of our grandfathers, would have increased its self-respect and would have greatly multiplied its power, if it had meddled with politics enough to say: "The slave must be freed"; and that now it would increase its power mightily by saying: "Justice must come first in every field of human activities; all men are brothers and therefore must have equal rights to the gifts of their common Father. They have equal rights to the means of life and development into robust manhood and womanhood; they have a right to equal opportunities to use their industry and skill to supply their wants and develop their capacities." Unless the Church has the courage and wisdom to speak for justice, its hands are tied, it labors at a great disadvantage in the bringing of God's kingdom, and may be compelled to see the most important part of its work being done by others. For God's kingdom is coming, with its reign of justice and true brotherhood. Shall those who profess that the bringing of the kingdom is the first aim of their lives, shrink from taking the most effective means for making it a reality upon earth?

It is sometimes said that the develop-



ment of love is the only thing needed; that this would solve all problems in industry, in society, and in politics; that we would not need to worry about systems or methods of doing things if all men had sufficient love for their fellowmen. This is true or false according to the way in which we understand it. It is false if it means that love need not be intelligent and may disregard the most effective means to the ends sought. We may be sure that true love will show itself in the abolition of a vicious, unjust or cumbersome system just as certainly as it will manifest itself in any other way. The system of human slavery cannot exist when true brotherhood takes possession of men's hearts; and a system denying equal rights and opportunities cannot exist when genuine love for fellowmen becomes widely diffused. The overthrow of unjust systems and the introduction of just laws, is one of the most practical ways in which love for our fellowmen can manifest itself. The mighty love of a John Howard for the human race was spent in overthrowing the system which condemned the inmates of prisons to a living death. The tremendous love of a Garrison, a Phillips and a Lincoln was devoted to overthrowing the cruel system of human slavery. The wonderful love of a Henry George for his fellowmen, leading him to pour out his very life without stint, was devoted to the overthrow of what is probably the the greatest remaining system of injustice, the ownership, by a few, of this

planet from which all must live. Jesus attacked relentlessly the system of ecclesiasticism which in his day was choking the religious life of the Jewish people. The most practical love for humanity in human history has been devoted in large measure to the destruction of systems. Love is the principal thing, but it must work through forms and institutions; and systems handed down from the past often become the useless shells which impede the exercise of such love as exists in the hearts of men. Let us make human nature more lovely as fast as possible, but let us, whenever we can, improve our systems in society, in politics, in industry, so as to take advantage of the love and unselfishness that now exists in human nature. There is not so much that we do not need to utilize it all. Let us not repress or hinder it by making it work through machinery so cumbersome and unscientific that the friction uses up most of the energy applied.

The kingdom of God is coming now faster than it has for many years. The conscience of the nation is becoming aroused to the difference between charity and justice as never before. Let the Church make the most of its opportunity and put itself in the front of the attack upon selfishness and injustice. Let it strive to realize completely the lofty ideals of Jesus and be content with nothing less than a genuine brotherhood of all humanity.

JESSE F. ORTON.

*Grand Rapids, Mich.*

## THE BISHOP'S ORDINATION.

BY GISELA DITTRICK BRITT.

"THE FROG he would a-wooin'  
go——"

"Wooin' go—Wooin' go——" laughed the echo.

"Whether his mother would let him or no——"

"Let-him-or-no — let-him-or-no ——" mimicked the saucy echo, as the canoe swept gracefully around into the shady little cove and two tired chaps, with sighs of relief, dropped their paddles, while a third, lazily propped against a big red

cushion, ceased his song and looked up with a questioning glance.

The answer to this unspoken query was energetic and irmediate. As with one accord, the light running-gear of each was stripped off, and down into the cool, green water they plunged, and the frightened wavelets went scudding frantically in toward the shore.

The light canoe, with the one motionless figure, tossed for a moment or two on the crest of the biggest wave, then drifted gently down toward a little fern-bordered, lichen-coated landing, where it rested against the mossy sleepers.

Bates Cuthbert lay back against the cushions, his arms above his head, watching the fleecy clouds as they chased each other across the open blue between the big trees, listening dreamily to the distant splashing and merry shouts of the swimmers.

It seemed good to be quiet; to be out of the confusion and merriment for a while; just for a *while*, of course, he could not be discourteous to the girls of the jolly house-party, but he was suddenly glad that he had come on this canoeing trip up the little lake. Somehow he was tired, tired of his big red auto., of his swift roadsters, of his handsome new yacht, of *everything*! It was a change just to lie still and watch the little squirrels leap nimbly from limb to limb, and to feel the soft breeze blow across his hot face. He did n't even care for a plunge with the other fellows whose voices were waking up the echoes in the sleepy little cove, and he lay back, whistling softly, his eyes half-closed.

But he could not be still long,—it was not his nature. The pretty "Camp," with the quaint legend over the door, attracted his wandering attention. The shutters were closed, evidently there was no one at home; he could prowl around a bit; there might be something to discover. So he leaped lightly out and pulled the canoe up on the sloping beach.

"Back at nine. Leave groceries in dug-out."

The note was nailed to the tall flag-

staff. They were out for the day; he had a free field; perhaps the "feed" had come; he would investigate, and he disappeared rapidly around the corner of the house, only to return slowly and gloomily.

"Nothin' doin'," he said, briefly, to the inquisitive little squirrel who had followed, chattering, at a safe distance. "Nothing but three old pumpkins!" He kicked a bit of lichen vindictively. Then he suddenly had an inspiration.

Round the house he dashed, coming back with a big pumpkin; the next time with the other two, which he deposited on the wide verandah. Then, taking out his knife, he went swiftly to work.

He always worked with a vim, this big, handsome chap, and half an hour later, when Sims and Holland came up, fresh and glowing from their swim, they stared in blank amazement at the three hideous things ranged side by side on the porch, while the artist stood off and critically surveyed his handiwork.

"Je-hos-a-phat!" ejaculated Sims, his eyes riveted on the three horrors.

"Where 'd you get the pattern, Bate-sy?" laughed Holland, throwing himself down beside the ugliest of the three and turning it around to make a closer scrutiny. "They're a bally lot; what's the idea, old man?"

For answer, Cuthbert took one of the big pumpkins carefully in his arms and carried it out toward the little wharf, while the others watched him curiously. They saw him climb up and take down the big globe that covered the electric light on one of the high poles overlooking the lake; then they divined his intent, and a mighty shout went up, while each seized a pumpkin and bore it down to the landing. Soon the three hideous, grinning faces were looking out on the lake from their tall pedestals on the wharf.

"Hully-gee! When the electrics come on to-night won't they—" Words failed Sims as he stood looking up at the one he had put in place.

"Hope there are no infants in the family," said Holland, dubiously, as he gave

his pumpkin a little twist around. "These 'gargoyles' of yours will shove them into fits."

Cuthbert threw back his head, and his laugh was good to hear. "They'll show up great at night, won't they? Hope they *will* give 'm the horrors. Serve 'm right for not leaving a blamed thing out there but pumpkins!"

"They were not expecting your Worshipful Appearance," laughed Holland, but Sims grinned knowingly:

"Should n't be surprised if they *were*—that's the reason things are locked up." And at the memory of a certain lawless raid of the day before there were shouts of merriment that caused the curious little squirrel to retreat in sudden affright.

Their lark had been a gay one and not always "according to law"; for these three, sons of millionaires, had never known restraint. The two were guests of Cuthbert's, helping to make up the gay house-party in the beautiful Cuthbert "Camp" at the further end of the lake. They had toured the country in the big red motor; they had scandalized the villagers by their wild rides up and down the quaint old streets on their fiery thoroughbreds; they had had some narrow escapes on the handsome new yacht; and now, sighing for "more worlds to conquer," they had planned a three days' canoeing trip up the lake, while the girls, under the easy chaperonage of Cuthbert's mother, went down to the city for a day or two's shopping.

Reckless, thoughtless, fun-loving, they were leaving in their wake a trail of complaints; of orchards invaded, of corn-fields despoiled, of melon-patches depopulated, of store-houses plundered. It would not be well if they ever returned that way, and knowing that, they had planned to go on to the railroad terminus and take the train back, leaving the canoe to be shipped later.

This was the last day, and reluctantly they were nearing the station; they could hear the faint whistle of the locomotives. The day was perfect; they should not

go in till the last moment; they would give themselves just time to reach the "Camp" for Sunday breakfast as they had promised, and, after lying for a time on the soft pine-needles, lazily shying stones at the adventurous squirrels, they started off for a tramp across country, leaving the canoe safely beached for a couple of hours.

It was not easy breaking their way through the thick underbrush, and the day was hot, so when they came suddenly and unexpectedly out upon a well-traveled road and saw before them a low white building, they gave a simultaneous yell of delight,—they had found the country people all along the way willing to change cool, refreshing milk into shining dollars.

A few more steps and their joy was turned into lamentation, for it was only a modest little church bearing the name, "African Church, South." And they cast themselves down upon the rickety platform with groans and mutterings. There was n't a house within sight down the long dusty road.

It was Holland who first discovered the little spring bubbling gleefully up under the shadow of the big tree, and the next moment their hot faces were buried in the cooling stream.

"A-a-a-h!" Cuthbert raised his head and drew a long breath of rapturous enjoyment. "That's bully!" Then the spirit of foolishness entered into him as he stood erect, his arms outstretched.

"Water, my hearers," he began in a grandiloquent way, "is the subject of my discourse this afternoon, and my text is found in the Gospel by—"

"Hear! Hear!" interrupted the other two, as, falling on him, they dragged him in through the low doorway of the little church—the door was hospitably ajar—up the carpetless aisle, into the plain old pulpit, where a worn old Bible and a dilapidated hymn-book lay on the rough, dust-covered desk.

"Hold on, Parson," said Sims hastily, "we want an up-to-date preacher." And pulling down an old rusty black curtain

that hung in front of the back door, he draped it about Cuthbert's tall figure. Some one had left a big white apron in the box under the desk, and in an instant it was converted into a stole which they hung over the black garb. They smoothed his rebellious locks into ecclesiastical primness and improvised a conventional collar out of the back of a paper chart which they ruthlessly tore from the wall. Then, for the second time that afternoon, they stood back to admire their handiwork.

This time it *was* an admiration, for in the dim light of the room—the shutters were closed on three windows—there was a grace and dignity, a subtle power, about the black-gowned figure behind the pulpit that made them stand suddenly silent, and for a moment involuntarily hold their breath. Was it a dim prescience of the future?

But the spell was soon over; the two settled themselves comfortably in an old pew; the church was cool and shady and most agreeable after their long, hot tramp. They did not notice a small black man who tip-toed in through the half-open door and quietly took his seat behind them, bending forward eagerly, his eyes on the tall form in front, his trembling hands on the back of the pew, his whole being visibly excited.

"We'll only have time for the first lesson, Bishop. We'll have to get back to the boat pretty soon."

Holland spoke lazily. The figure behind gave a start of delight and listened intently; he could not see the grins of amusement on the faces before him; he heard only the words. The "Bishop"! That Great Man! The "Bishop" whom he had so longed to see! Surely the Lord had led him to come over to his little church that afternoon to hear the "White Folks' Bishop"! Perhaps to speak with him! His simple mind did not reason out the presence in the church. It was the "Bishop"—he knew he was somewhere on the lake for the summer—it was the "Bishop"; that was all he cared about.

The black-gowned figure at the desk

opened the old worn Book and aimlessly turned over a few pages. He was not familiar with the Scriptures except as represented by a gilt-edged prayer-book in his soft, luxuriously-appointed pew at home, and *that* not often. Then something suddenly caught his eye. With a smile he straightened himself. They would find he was "game"; they could n't "stump" him; and taking the Book in both hands he began:

"Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, buy and eat: yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price."

He was a fine reader, and as he went on the wonderful words seemed insensibly to make his voice deeper and richer; he was *feeling* their beauty and majesty without knowing it.

"Seek ye the Lord while He may be found; call ye upon Him while He is near.

"Let the wicked forsake his way and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and let him return unto the Lord, and He will have mercy upon him."

The smiles died away from the faces of the two listeners, while a little uneasiness came into their hearts and minds. They had not meant to be irreverent; they had not thought that he would really read from the Holy Book. That was the trouble with Cuthbert—he always went too far.

But to the third unseen listener the reading was a revelation. He almost knew the words by heart, and he had read them many times in his halting way to his people from the same old pulpit; but—to hear the "Bishop"—the "White Folks' Bishop"—! He closed his eyes and swayed to and fro with the joyful religious abandon of his race.

"For as the rain cometh down and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower and bread to the eater; so shall my word that goeth forth out of my mouth: it shall not return unto me, but it shall accomplish that which I



please and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it."

He nodded his head, then he smiled gladly. Somehow the words had never come to him with such power before. Why *should* he be discouraged as he gave the Word to his people? God had promised to take care of it; why should *he* worry? And a song of trust such as had never been there before filled the old man's tired heart.

"For ye shall go out with joy and be led forth with peace: the mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing: and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands."

The words rang out through the little church with joy and gladness, as the reader closed the Book and laid it down upon the desk.

"Will some one lead in prayer?" he asked solemnly. They had not "stumped" him; he had carried out *his* part; it was up to them now, and he looked down at them with a mocking little smile. "There was silence in the dim old church. The two men in the dark sweaters frowned a bit; Cuthbert was carrying the farce too far—they might have known he would. Sims moved uneasily in his corner, while Holland opened his lips to utter a sharp protest, when there was the sound of moving feet behind them and a thin, trembling voice broke the stillness. The old colored man had risen and was standing just behind them, the light from one of the shutterless windows falling full on his bowed head. His eyes were closed so that he did not see the sudden start of the two men in front, nor the quick, authoritative gesture of silence from the tall figure behind the desk. The two sank back with a faint gasp—they usually agreed to Cuthbert's imperious commands—while he stood motionless, like a statue, as the old man's voice rose upward:

"Oh, Lawd God A'mighty, I'se heerd fur de fust time in all my life de Glory en de Majesty ob thy Holy Word. I'se heerd de Message from lips dat's dun

bin teched by de fire ob thy Spirit. I'se heerd er Royal Embassader straight from de King's presence, en I lif' my hyart in joy 'n' praise dat my feet wuz turned dis way.

"In dis great ol' worl' dar 's jes *one* place whar de rich en de po', de great en de small, kin meet togedder. In de House ob de Lawd de Greates' in de Kingdom kin look down kin'ly on de leastes', en de lil', po', weak one kin hol' de do' open fur ter let 'm in. In de Army ob de Lawd de servant kin rej'ice, a-keep-in' de Capt'in's armor all bright en shinin' en ready fur de battle. Help me, Lawd, ter do de breshin' en de polishin' en de rubbin' de bes' I kin. It's hard sometimes fur ter do dem *lil'* tings, en help de Capt'in' up yondah ter be strong en brave en full ob courage, ready en willin' en *glad* ter meet de foes ob de Kingdom es dey cum er marchin' up. En den, Oh Lawd A'mighty, help him ter *win*! 'case it's de *winners* dat's gwine ter enter in, —de obercummers dat hes de Promis' Lan'.

"Thou hast made him er leader ob thy people, Thou hast given him Power and Strength; Thou hast given him thy *great* gif's; but help him ter remember, dat fur dese bery t'ings he mus' cum inter judgment."

The old man's voice was stern and solemn; the figure in front had not moved, the other two were keeping very still in their corner. Then he raised his thin, black, wrinkled hands and his voice grew low and tender:

"My Lawd, take him inter thy keepin', now en fur *ever*,—him, thy Bishop. Lay on him thy hands this day en an'int him fur thy Holy Service—fur de winnin' ob thy po' los' ones. An' w'en his work heah is done, tek him inter de Kingdom ob Heaben, whar he 'll sen' many a weary, wanderin' one; en gib him his Crown ob Rej'icin' en his New Name dat's writ in de Lam's Book ob Life. Amen."

A short time ago, in a great cathedral in a big city, midst the perfume of flowers,

with triumphal swelling of the organ's notes and the melody of the sweet-voiced choir, with pomp and ceremony, the Reverend Bates Cuthbert was made a Bishop; but God and *he* knew that his real "Ordination" was years ago, away

back in the old pine woods, where a little old black man poured out upon him the Oil of God's Spirit.

GISELA DITTRICK BRITT.

*St. Louis, Mo.*

## NUDE LIPS.

BY ALBERT R. CARMAN,

Author of "The Pensionnaires."

SOME said that it was because his name was Eli, and that he disliked so slippery and inconsequential a verbal tag. Others blamed it upon his habit of "promiskus reading"—Eli Saunders would "read anything, good or bad," was the unrepressed opinion of Gains-town. But, whatever the cause, the staring, ridiculous, pathetic, preposterous fact was that Eli had turned Moslem, had the Koran on his center-table in the parlor, and called himself Mohammed Eli Saunders. It would be more correct to say that he had turned so far into a Mohammedan as he knew; and that that was not very far, but still quite far enough to make him the amusement and scandal of the village.

It went without saying that Matilda Saunders, his wife, and Miriam Saunders, his sister, who lived with them, and his two daughters, Bertha and Annie Saunders, turned with him; for he was the most persistent "arguer" in Gains-town and not nice to live with when opposed. And his wife was beginning to take it seriously.

"Miriam," she said, after turning the heel of a sock for Eli in silence, "I do n't know as we should let our Eastern sisters outdo us in modesty."

"Do we?" asked Miriam, in surprise.

"Do we?" Do n't you remember what Eli—what Mohammed Eli, I mean—was reading us last night? Do n't we go about with all our faces naked?"

Miriam first looked hastily around to see that her brother was not listening, and then at her sister-in-law to measure the depth of her sincerity.

"Veils are stuffy in hot weather," she hazarded.

"Heathens do not always like the feel of clothes—just at first," returned Madame Matilda, impressively.

"No"—with a sigh, and then explosively—"see here, Matilda, you'd better make up your mind good and sure that you want to go veiled before you let Eli hear you talking this way, or else you'll have to do it."

"I shall obey my own conscience in the matter," said Madame, loftily.

Miriam heard nothing more of the subject for several days, when Annie said without any preface:

"Say, Auntie, do n't you think the Eastern women have to go veiled because the Eastern men are so bad?"

"Very likely. But what put that in your head?"

"Why, Mamma. She wants us all to go veiled."

"Veils are poisonous and ruin the eyes," said Aunt Miriam, shortly.

"That's what I say," joined in Annie, heartily; "but Bertha says that she really thinks the eyes should be covered."

"Hmp!" said Aunt Miriam; and the next day the topic reached Mohammed Eli and the end was certain. Strange to say, Aunt Miriam's conversion was the

most thorough. She scouted the thin compromise of veiling.

"You would n't wrap your body in a veil and consider yourself decently clothed," she said. "If a part of your face is improper, cover it up and cover it up good."

Mohammed Eli had a picture of a veiled Eastern woman which showed the eyes looking over the curved top of the veil; so he was of the opinion that the eyes need not be hidden. Bertha was for doing better than the Turks, but Annie was not—Annie had an effective eye—and Madame Matilda said that they could not see to go about if they bandaged the eyes at all thickly.

"I have always read," said Aunt Miriam after the debate had gone on for a while, "that the mouth is sensuous. Let us begin with the mouth."

"That's so," said Madame. "'He had a sensuous mouth.' How often have I seen that in novels!"

"It certainly would be better," said Mohammed Eli, "if people never thought of one's mouth at all. The mouth suggests kissing—yes, it does. You can't tell me. The more I think of it, the more I know our Eastern sisters are right. A woman goes out on the public street with her sinuous, projecting, unclad lips—hardly a layer of skin over them—fully exposed to every man who passes. I tell you it is provocative of evil thoughts. Every decent woman should cover her lips"—and he thrust his own out to give emphasis to his dictum.

"I declare I feel quite ashamed of mine," said Aunt Miriam covering hers with her hand; but it was not shame that twinkled in her eyes.

"Dear me, yes," agreed Bertha. "We ought to set the example of just putting them out of sight."

"It's plain enough," added Madame, serenely. "Clothe the lips and people will forget that there are such things."

So it came about that the ladies of the Saunders household walked down Main street the next afternoon, each one with

a neat covering, like a respirator, over the lips. Gainstown balanced between sympathy and uproarious amusement. Was it a sudden and four-pronged attack of lung trouble; or was it a new freak of Mohammed Eli's? It was a venturesome thing to ask Madame, for she disliked enquiry into her new religious customs. She lacked the missionary spirit. But Mohammed Eli courted enquiry; so when he came along a little later, everyone stopped him with—

"Saw your women folks wearing something on their mouths to-day. Anything wrong?"

And then he would explain and expound. That night Gainstown well-nigh exploded. Never before were the mouths of the Saunders ladies so much in the public mind. People tried to remember what they looked like; photographs of them in the old, unregenerate days became new objects of interest; and young men sat about the village grocery and turned the "sensuous lips" idea over conversationally until ladies hesitated to go shopping there of an evening. Before long every woman in Gainstown felt when in public that her lips were being examined to see if they were "suggestive," and the custom of holding a handkerchief to one's mouth—or a fan—grew in a marked manner. If they escaped temporarily from this lip-conscious feeling, one of the Saunders quartette would come in sight and instantly every mind was riveted upon *LIPS*.

One day Bertha met a catastrophe. When coming home from the post-office, the elastic holding the lip bandage in its place broke, and the bandage fell off. She reached for her handkerchief, but she had forgotten it, and she was gloveless. Hurrying home, she arrived there with a face of fire and panting as if she had been running.

"Oh," she said, after the terrible accident had been told and mourned over, "it was awful. As soon as people saw me they looked—they looked right at my mouth. Even poor old Mr. Adamson,

though he tried not to look at me, took a quick glance at my lips as he passed. Oh, Mother, as soon as anyone sees us, he thinks 'lips, lips,' whether we have our bandages on or off."

Mohammed Eli came to the rescue. The things that that man knew about what constituted proper behavior for his women folk were astonishing.

"You need n't imagine," he said, "that the long experience of your Turkish sisters has taught them nothing. They, no doubt, experimented with covering the mouth only, and found that it produced the very effect they wished to avoid—that it called attention to what they had hidden. So they veiled the whole face. There's your lesson for you. Profit by it."

So the Saunders ladies came out in thick, white veils, crossing the face just below the eyes and hanging dropped from the nose like a doll's apron out of place. Gainstown was hilarious at first, but they kept at it; and it is wonderful how much dogged sincerity will gain in respect for any cause. "Advanced" people began to discuss whether or not after all "the Saunderses" were not right. The very fact that these women of their own town thought it "improper" to show the face, gave every other woman a feeling of doubt about the propriety of exposing hers. They had never thought of the thing as a question of right and wrong before; as a matter of course they walked the streets with nude faces. But now, that they thought of it, was it right? The modesty of woman always wishes to retreat from the questioned position; and the question put so steadily and soberly by the Saunders sisterhood sent more and more of feminine Gainstown behind the veil—the full Western veil that hides eyes and all. As time went on, it became a rare sight to see a native woman in any public place in Gainstown without her veil, and people instinctively felt that strangers who came there and paraded the streets with naked faces

were unfeminine—or inclined to be "rapid," as the case indicated.

Bertha early began an agitation for the substitution of the common American veil for the curious rendering of the Turkish variety they were wearing.

"You'd best be careful," Mohammed Eli warned them. "You know how you got into trouble first along by ignoring the experience of centuries."

But the feminine indisposition to be a guy weighed against him, and after a time his "harem," as the irreverent called it, was distinguished only by the thickness of its veils. But that was a poor distinction, for all the veils, having been donned for modesty's sake, were thick. Feminine Gainstown, on the street, was a procession of muffled mourners. The churches of a Sunday looked as cheerful as a flower-bed from which the blossoms have all been cut. When a strange woman appeared on the street, every man in the village who heard of it turned out to catch a stray ray of sunshine from her unswaddled face. Men who had business in other towns took it as a holiday and were marked by the manner in which they stared at the women they met. Gainstown was under an eclipse; "a young man's fancy" could have "as lightly turned to thoughts of love" at a funeral; it seemed wicked to remember that there were women in the community. Why had the Deity committed the initial impropriety of creating them?

Of course, this could not last. One Sunday, Clara Wilson appeared at church in a short veil that hung just below the lower lip, but exposed the chin. Nothing shone so white in the minds of the whole congregation as that one naked chin. It was a plump chin and a dimple lay right in the center, and masculine Gainstown feasted its eyes on its soft curves, its alluring flesh-tints, and its sweet, satiny femininity to the utter forgetfulness of all else. The congregation was considerably over half composed of women, but there seemed to be only one;



and to think of that one was to think of her chin.

"I never knew," said old Phil. Johnson to the crowd about the officially deserted railway station that afternoon, "that a chin was so pretty before."

"Pretty! Gum! I should say so," said a young fellow, pulling one side of himself straight so he could push a hand into his trousers pocket in search of his knife.

"We 've had a long fast, fellers; that 's what 's the matter with us," observed another.

"But that 's a wicked little chin," said a fourth, with a sly smile, whereat there was a guffaw of laughter all round.

In the Macuish drawing-room the conversation was more decorous.

"That Wilson girl made herself very conspicuous this morning," said Mrs. Taylor.

"Very," agreed Mrs. Macuish. "I can 't imagine what her mother is thinking of."

"Her mother!" scoffed Miss Chandler. "She pays no attention to her mother."

"A very forward piece, I think," said Mrs. Macuish.

"Everybody was staring at her chin," added Mrs. Taylor with emphasis. "I expected to see it turn red with shame."

"I should have thought she would have felt uncomfortable—sort of undressed-like," observed Mrs. Mosely, mildly.

"Yes—and the effect on the men," said Mrs. Macuish in a passion of emphasis.

But the days went by, and Clara Wilson's evident popularity whenever she appeared in public began to stir doubts in the mind of many a Gainstown maiden of her own age. Was it so terrible a thing to show the chin? Apparently it was not; for now this one did and now that, until chins became quite common sights again upon the streets, and men ceased to compare them the one with the other, and only the contour of those still

hidden was ever discussed—and that in a jocular way.

Strange to say, the next step toward emancipation was taken by the Saunders quartette who again dropped the veil below the eyes, thus distancing in the race for public attention those who had commenced to wear a more transparent veiling. This riveted common thought upon eyes, and Mohammed Eli had a deal of arguing to do with those who held that they were more mischievous and more productive of evil than all the rest of the face together.

"It 's a funny thing," said one man to him; "you go and swaddle up all the rest of a woman and let her show her eyes. She 'd be less disturbing to the peace of mankind if you reversed the process."

But the eyes, bright as they are, were soon eclipsed; for Clara Wilson came out one day with a bare face. There it was in its staring nudity, "sensuous lips" and all. Gainstown caught its breath—and then let it out in a sigh of relief. The lower part of a hill is so much more slippery than the top.

"Dum! If I do n't believe God made no mistake when he made a girl's face," declared old Phil. Johnson. "We thought they was all right until that crazy loon Eli Saunders came around with his dum nonsense."

"He was just civilizing us," said one of the young fellows, teasingly.

"Civilizing!" snorted Phil. "Making fools of us!"

"No, no; civilizing," persisted the tease. "There are folks that do n't wear any clothes, and we civilize them into wearing some."

"Well," said Phil., rubbing his head, dubiously, "that 's right, I guess; and, goodness knows, they need clothes bad enough. The fact is, God should have made 'em with clothes on up to the neck; but no higher, by gum; no higher!"

ALBERT R. CARMAN.

Montreal, Canada.

## IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

### THE CONVICTION OF THE NEW YORK CENTRAL RAILROAD AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE.

**The Story of The Sinister Attempt of a Confederacy of The Great Criminals to Debauch Free Government in The Interests of The Feudalism of Privileged Wealth.**

**T**HE RECENT conviction of the New York Central Railroad Company for what United States Judge Holt described as a deliberate and premeditated crime, and which he holds to be "a very much more heinous act than the ordinary common, vulgar crimes which come before criminal courts constantly for punishment, which arise from sudden passion or temptation," the scathing arraignment by the Judge of the great criminals, who, by the way, are among the leading pillars of Wall street; and the imposing of a fine of \$108,000 on this criminal corporation, constitute one of the most important recent events in America, showing, first, what can be done in exposing and punishing crimes when men really want the criminals brought to justice; second, how the judiciary and government officials respond to their masters; and, finally, that the people are at last awakening to a realization of the fact that their hope lies in again becoming the real power in politics instead of abandoning government to the "safe, sane and conservative" criminals who in recent decades have gained control of the government in city, state and nation, manned the posts of vantage with their tools, and then proceeded to rob and plunder every man, woman and child in the land.

So long as the people slept the feudalism of privileged wealth marched forward with apparently irresistible tread. Monopoly after monopoly rose, and trusts were formed to enable the privileged few to become the masters of the wage-earning millions, to the extent that they might dictate the wage and lower the prices paid to workers on the one hand, while placing every member of the community at the mercy of the rapacity of the monopolists on the other.

With corruption and dishonesty rife in public life, business ideals naturally reflected the

same eclipse of old-time integrity. Substitutions and fraud marked the products of the corporations. Foods were poisoned and often prepared under filthy conditions, to be placed before the people as tempting articles of diet, that corrupt and essentially criminal multimillionaires might acquire still other millions filched from the people.

The great railways, the arteries of the nation's business life, were the pioneer and chief offenders in the corrupting of government; nor did they stop with defeating many laws intended to protect the people from the rapacity and extortion of the public carriers. They deliberately engaged with other unscrupulous corporations in defying such laws as were made, feeling that such was their power in city, state and nation that they were secure in their anarchal course. The fact that these great criminals posed as moral mentors of society and in college, church and press loudly descanted on probity, integrity and national honor, helped to render their continued crimes possible; for it seemed incredible to the people that men with apparently such high ideals and who were so industriously helping church and school, could be deliberately and habitually criminals, defying the laws as flagrantly, though to be sure more cunningly, than the professional burglar, highwayman and sneak-thief.

With Depew descanting on national honor; with Rockefeller preaching Christian virtue; with the whole army of other criminals and law-breakers parroting moral platitudes while purchasing immunity from punishment by princely campaign contributions and "yellow dog" funds; and finally, with the whole confederacy of law-breakers and their agents and mouthpieces with one voice denouncing all high-minded men and women who exposed their criminality as "muck-rakers" or men guilty of "loose talk," the plutocracy well-nigh transformed the Republic into an oligarchy of privileged wealth, with almost as absolute sway as that exerted by the bureaucracy of Russia. It therefore became neces-

sary for the reformers to back up every charge with proof, and this for the last five or six years has been done. The magazines led the battle, but certain newspapers nobly seconded them, chief among which were the Hearst chain of papers, and with the great wealth at their command they were able to obtain proofs of the most damaging character. Last spring the "safe, sane and conservative" criminals of Wall street were disturbed one morning by the announcement that Mr. Hearst had secured proof positive of rebates on the part of the New York Central Railroad and the Sugar-Trust. The proof was placed in the hands of the Federal government, after the Attorney-General had promised to proceed, as the evidence was of such a character as to prove conclusive. As a result, indictments were found and the trial on the first counts resulted in a verdict of guilty and the imposing of a heavy fine on the criminal company.

#### **The Masterly Arraignment of The Great Criminals by Judge Holt.**

The masterly arraignment of the great criminals by Judge Holt should be preserved by friends of free government as one of the pioneer utterances in the battle of the people to overthrow the confederacy of the great criminals and restore the Republic to its old place as a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Space renders it impossible for us to give the entire arraignment, but we quote in the following lines the Judge's admirable words describing how infinitely more culpable and infamous are the great criminals of the railway company than are the vulgar criminals who have through drink or stress of necessity committed crimes for which the law deals swift and heavy penalties:

"The Government's evidence to establish the defendants' guilt was clear, conclusive and undisputed. The case was a flagrant one. The transactions which took place under this illegal contract were very large; the amounts of rebates returned were considerable, and the amount of the rebate itself was large, amounting to more than one-fifth of the entire tariff charge for the transportation of merchandise from this city to Detroit.

"It is not too much to say, in my opinion, that if this business was carried on for a considerable time on that basis—that is, if this discrimination in favor of this particular shipper was made with an 18 instead of a 23-cent

rate and the tariff rate was maintained as against their competitors—the result might be, and not improbably would be, that their competitors would be driven out of business.

"This crime is one which in its nature is deliberate and premeditated. I think over a fortnight elapsed between the date of Palmer's letter requesting the reduced rate and the answer of the railroad company deciding to grant it, and then for months afterward this business was carried on and these claims for rebates submitted month after month and checks in payment of them drawn month after month.

"Such a violation of the law, in my opinion, in its essential nature, is a very much more heinous act than the ordinary, common, vulgar crimes which come before criminal courts constantly for punishment which arise from sudden passion or temptation. The crime in this case was committed by men of education and of large business experience, and whose standing in the community was such that they might have been expected to set an example of obedience to law, upon the maintenance of which alone in this country the security of their property depends. It was committed on behalf of a great railroad corporation, which, like other railroad corporations, has received gratuitously from the State large and valuable privileges for the public's convenience and its own, which performs quasi-public functions and which is charged with the highest obligation in the transaction of its business to treat the citizens of this country alike, and not to carry on its business with unjust discriminations between different citizens or different classes of citizens.

"This crime in its nature is one usually done with secrecy and proof of which is very difficult to obtain.

"Now, under these circumstances, I am forced to the conclusion, in a case in which the proof is so clear and the facts so flagrant, it is the duty of the Court to fix a penalty which shall in some degree be commensurate with the gravity of the offense. As between the two defendants, in my opinion, the principal penalty should be imposed on the corporation. The traffic manager in this case presumably acted without any advantage to himself and without any interest in the transaction, either by the direct authority or in accordance with what he understood to be the policy or the wishes of his employer.

"The sentence of this Court in this case is

that the defendant Pomeroy, for each of the six offenses upon which he has been convicted, be fined the sum of \$1,000, making six fines, amounting in all to the sum of \$6,000; and the defendant, the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company, for each of the six crimes of which it has been convicted, be fined the sum of \$18,000, making six fines, amounting in the aggregate to the sum of \$108,000, and judgment to that effect will be entered in this case."

#### **Some of The Great Law-Breakers.**

The responsible companies caught by the conclusive evidence of crime obtained by Mr. Hearst, and by him handed over to the government, were the New York Central and Hudson River Railway Company and the American Sugar Refining Company, better known as the Sugar-Trust. It is interesting and highly suggestive, in the light of the relation of some of these men to state and national politics, to notice the names of the master-spirits in this criminal conspiracy, who as such are the responsible agents for the deliberate, premeditated crimes. Here are some of these "safe, sane and conservative" law-breakers:

John E. Parsons, father of Herbert Parsons, Republican leader in New York politics and especially favored by President Roosevelt; Chauncey M. Depew of the United States Senate; James Stillman, President of the National City Bank (the Standard Oil Bank); George F. Baker, great financier of unsavory insurance fame; W. K. Vanderbilt; F. W. Vanderbilt; J. Pierpont Morgan; D. O. Mills; H. O. Havemeyer; and George F. Frazier, Chairman of the Republican County Committee.

These gentlemen law-breakers have for years been largely influencing the political destinies of the nation and posing as pillars of national honor and of the business strength and integrity of the nation.

#### **The Most Dangerous Criminals in America.**

Viewing the question in its broadest aspects, considering its influence on the state, on society and on the individual and the rising

generation, we believe it is not too much to say that these great law-defiers, these whited sepulchers of modern life, these men of broad culture, education and great riches who have had every advantage to help them to be leaders of moral idealism, upholders of true religion and the bulwark of a free state, but who have deliberately, premeditatedly and systematically committed crimes that Judge Holt characterizes as "very much more heinous" than "the ordinary, common, vulgar crimes which come before criminal courts constantly for punishment," are the greatest criminals and the most dangerous characters in America to-day. They, we believe, more than any class of criminals save those who commit murder, should receive long prison sentences, and they more than any other class of criminals merit no leniency in the punishment that should be meted out to them, for they have not the mitigating or extenuating causes that the poor man or the criminal, who has never enjoyed the benefits of moral and intellectual environment, can urge, while their influence is more far-reaching and morally disintegrating than the crimes of any other class of criminals, for the reason that their wealth, position and pretensions make the masses look up to them. When the millions see those who pose as the pillars of state, church and society brazenly, deliberately and premeditatedly defying the law, it not only brings the law of the land into contempt, but it lowers the moral idealism of society and plays havoc with that respect for justice, law and order that is the essential safeguard of a civilized state.

Judge Holt made a good beginning, by serving notice on the greatest criminal class that its days of immunity from punishment for crime are numbered, but the penalty imposed is wholly inadequate for proper punishment of the crime which the Judge himself has declared to be more heinous and less excusable than the crimes of ordinary criminals who are promptly sent to prison. Nothing is more needed at the present time than laws imposing long prison sentences instead of fines for such deliberate and premeditated commission of crimes by the criminal rich as that for which Judge Holt imposed a fine of \$108,000.



## THE UNHAPPY PLIGHT OF TWO DISTINGUISHED DEFENDERS OF NATIONAL HONOR AND "SAFE, SANE AND CONSERVATIVE" POLITICS.

ON THE twenty-second of October James Gordon Bennett, the owner of the New York *Herald*, was indicted by the grand jury of the State of New York for sending through the mails his paper, which daily, week in and week out, contained a directory of vice. The "red light" columns of the *Herald* had been only less noticeable than the solicitude of Mr. Bennett for national honor when Mr. Bryan ran for the Presidency, or for public decency when Mr. Hearst was candidate for Mayor of New York City.

On the twenty-third of October United States Senator Burton, the prominent Republican and corporation politician, entered upon his six months' sentence in jail at Ironton,

Missouri. He happened to be caught red-handed and had not quite as strong financial backing as certain brother senators. It is quite needless to say that Senator Burton was one of the leading spirits among the "safe, sane and conservative" politicians for revenue who joined loudly in the chorus of the corporation tools whenever an incorruptible champion of the people, like Mr. Bryan, for example, happened to be selected to lead the popular cause.

Slowly, but we trust surely, our people are beginning to learn the true character of the men who during the past fifteen years have been loudest in their denunciation of high-minded patriots and reformers as enemies of national honor.

## THE TRUE SECRET OF MR. BRYAN'S GREAT POPULARITY WITH THE PEOPLE.

THE RECENT trips made by Mr. Bryan through various states, North, South and in the Middle West, have been a revelation to those people in every community where he has appeared who have been reading the "safe, sane and conservative" press. In many instances it is stated that the crowds and the enthusiasm were greater than during the presidential campaigns in which Mr. Bryan was the nominee of the Democratic party. Many of these meetings were the largest ever held in the districts visited, people coming in teams sometimes from places twenty-five and thirty miles distant. Nor is this all. On many occasions during the recent campaign, when Republican speakers inadvertently mentioned Mr. Bryan's name, the audiences have nonplussed the orators by breaking into deafening applause. This was very noticeable in Massachusetts and other states where the Republican speakers seemed to think the calumnies and misrepresentation of the press for the past ten years had been accepted by the people as other than exhibitions of the

shameless mendacity of the corporation-controlled dailies.

In Philadelphia, on October 18th, when Speaker Cannon was addressing an audience in the Academy of Music, a striking illustration of this kind occurred which was reported by Warren T. Lowe for *The Public*. During a pause in Mr. Cannon's speech a voice in the audience shouted, "How about Bryan?"

Mr. Cannon replied, "He is wasting his time going about the country speaking."

"He's the next President, all right," answered the voice.

"That is one man's opinion," replied Mr. Cannon.

And the voice answered, "Is it? Three cheers for Bryan!"

This was followed by such cheers as have seldom been heard in a Pennsylvania audience.

These extraordinary evidences of the faith in and the love of the millions for the great commoner are doubtless largely due to the fact that not only Mr. Roosevelt but the rank and file of the Republican party have been in-

dustriously searching for the footprints of Mr. Bryan and following in his steps, even though often afar off, and in so doing they have paid a significant tribute to the wisdom, practicality and foresight of the Western statesman whom in former years they so vigorously denounced as an impractical visionary.

But there is another reason for this wonderful popularity that is so intense and passionate in character. The people have come to see that whatever else Mr. Bryan is, he is honest and sincere; as brave as he is incorruptible; as high-minded as he is just; as loyal to what he conceives to be the best interests of all the people as he is relentless in his opposition to all forms of privilege, corruption and injustice. They see that among all our statesmen to-day no man is more absolutely free from the tricks and subterfuges of the demagogue

and more candid and frank on all subjects in which the people are concerned than he; while above and beyond all else, they see and know that no living statesman is more thoroughly under the compulsion of moral idealism than Mr. Bryan. This, indeed, we believe is the master-secret of his power over the brain of America's conscience-guided millions. Numbers who have not agreed with him on many questions have come to deeply admire the man because of his transparent nobility of purpose, his lofty patriotism and his loyalty to the vision that was the pillar of fire to Washington, Franklin and Jefferson in the infant days of our national history. Mr. Bryan is sound of heart. Of this the millions of America are persuaded, and because they feel and know this to be true they are ready to follow him.

## THE ELECTION.

### The General Result.

**T**HE ELECTION, while disappointing to friends of free institutions and fundamental democracy, was, considering the odds against which the people fought in this opening conflict in the great battle with entrenched privilege and criminal wealth, not surprising. Especially is this true in cases like Massachusetts and New York.

The result in Colorado is bitterly disappointing to friends of pure government and democratic institutions, showing how completely the corrupt and despotic plutocracy has the state by the throat and how disastrous it is for friends of popular rule to divide their forces in the face of a united attempt to destroy republican institutions in the interests of corporate wealth.

In Rhode Island the Democrats have won the governor and one congressman.

In New Hampshire the Boston and Maine Railroad has suffered a severe rebuke by the failure of the regular Republican candidate to secure a sufficient number of votes to save the election being thrown into the House.

Pennsylvania has returned to the mire, and unless the conscience element promptly organizes over the state and commences another aggressive campaign to redeem the common-

wealth from the rule of the grafters and the corporations, we may expect another riot of corruption such as has made Pennsylvania a by-word since the Pennsylvania Railroad company, the coal interests and the steel-trust have gained complete control of the Republican machine. The treachery of Mayor Weaver in deserting to the camp of the corrupt ring on the eve of the election brands the man for what he is. It is such Benedict Arnolds in the cause of civic righteousness and of popular reform that make the people distrust their leaders and often fall the prey of designing politicians who seek to discredit the incorruptible popular leaders by pointing to the betrayers who have once posed as friends of clean government or the people's cause.

The most disgraceful incident of the whole campaign was the shameful and baseless attack on Mr. Hearst made in the President's name by Secretary of State Root. The latter, as long attorney for Ryan and for many of the criminal corporations and predatory bands, might have been expected to do his masters' bidding, but that the name of the President of the United States should have been dragged into the mire and made responsible for a baseless calumny that had one year before been adjudged too scurrilous and slanderous to be

permitted to go through the United States mail, is a subject for humiliation and regret on the part of all citizens who wish to think well of the President of the United States.

In New Jersey the friends of clean government and progressive reform made an excellent beginning. By organization and a persistent educational campaign we believe New Jersey can be rescued from the iron grip of the Pennsylvania Railroad company, the Prudential Life Insurance company and the public-service corporations of the state, ere the next presidential election.

### The Congressional Election.

The Republican majority has been greatly reduced in Congress, but the failure of several candidates who represent fundamental democracy is a subject of deep regret. Prominent among these is Robert Baker, the incorruptible and able champion of progressive democracy of Brooklyn, who aroused the antagonism of McCarren and his corrupt henchmen by his brave stand for purity in government and the overthrow of boss-rule. Ex-Governor Garvin of Rhode Island, Joseph Worth Bailey of Pennsylvania, and F. F. Ingram of Michigan are others among the genuine democratic leaders whom the *plunderbund* succeeded in defeating.

On the other hand, a number of genuine democrats and friends of Direct-Legislation have been elected to office. In Pennsylvania two of these successful candidates were elected by the laborers. In New York George C. Hisgen, the foe of the Standard Oil Company, has been elected to Congress, while we are glad to note that James W. Wadsworth, who made himself so notorious last year as the special champion of the beef-trust and who more than any other one man was responsible for saddling three million dollars annually on the tax-payers of this government which the powerful trust should have paid for inspection of meat, has been defeated in New York by a large majority in a district that has hitherto been overwhelmingly Republican. Two years ago Mr. Wadsworth received a majority of over 12,000 votes. It is to be hoped that this stinging rebuke will serve as a warning to other traitors to the people's interests. But perhaps the most gratifying result connected with the Congressional election is the defeat of Joseph W. Babcock, the odious "fat-fryer" of Wisconsin.

### The Result in Massachusetts.

The result in Massachusetts, though a present victory for the Republican organization, was a moral victory for the people's cause, when the facts are taken into consideration. Indeed, the last election in Massachusetts bears a strong resemblance to the battle of Bunker Hill, in that while it was a technical defeat for the people, it is a decisive moral victory. In the first place, the Democratic party has for years been in the hands of a political ring absolutely subservient to corrupt predatory wealth, the master-spirit being Henry M. Whitney, the most odious and sinister corporation figure in Massachusetts. This year the Democratic party repudiated the whole corporation ring and cut itself loose from all connection with predatory wealth. This in itself was a great triumph for the cause, for there could be no hope of advancing the interests of the public so long as both parties were the subservient henchmen of the public-service corporations and privileged wealth. During the last two years, it is stated, the Democrats have had over one hundred thousand dollars annually with which to conduct their campaigns, and they also had the active and ardent support of all the plutocratic or corporation-controlled and influenced Democratic journals of the state.

Mr. Moran, the candidate of the Democratic party and the Independence League, declined an offer of fifty thousand dollars from Thomas W. Lawson, and it is stated that he also declined an offer of one hundred thousand dollars from certain privileged interests that were willing to raise the money, with the tacit understanding that their interests would not be interfered with in the event of his election. He furthermore refused any campaign contributions from the liquor interests, from corporations, brokers or any persons who might expect favors in the event of his election. He insisted that ten thousand dollars was an ample sum on which to conduct a campaign. As a matter of fact, it appears that only about one thousand dollars was raised by the committee. This of course prevented the state being covered by speakers; the sending out of the ordinary amount of literature; the use of posters, or almost any of the ordinary legitimate aids for interesting and arousing the people; while on the other hand the Republican party had unlimited wealth with which to conduct its campaign,

and it used this wealth lavishly. Every part of the state was covered and on election day automobiles were in readiness to carry any voters to the polling booths who were willing to support the ticket.

Such has become the power of the corporations over the public press of Massachusetts that with the exception of Hearst's Boston *American* practically every powerful newspaper in the Democratic party either actively opposed the Democratic nominee or ignored him when not sneering at him and the ticket. Thus the tremendous influence of the leading daily papers which belong to the plutocratic Democratic element was thrown against the Democratic ticket and in the interests of privileged wealth.

In Boston the liquor interests united to defeat Moran, because he had enforced the laws. Every public-service corporation in the state fought him and worked for the success of the Republican ticket. A systematic campaign of calumny and slander was conducted on the part of the press, and there were no financial means at the command of the Democratic party to refute the falsehoods that were industriously circulated and that influenced thousands of voters.

The Democratic speaking campaign was conducted almost entirely by the Hon. George Fred. Williams, John B. Moran, candidate for governor, and E. Gerry Brown, candidate for lieutenant-governor. These men spoke nightly to enormous concourses of enthusiastic people in the large centers of the state, but they were of course unable to cover the state. Mr. Williams' addresses were broad, statesmanlike and convincing, but the press for the most part ignored his addresses, and thus the people were kept in ignorance of his arguments.

Mr. Moran entered the campaign a sick man, his health shattered by his long and arduous duties as district-attorney, he having declined to take any vacation during the year. For one week after he was nominated his health was so precarious that it was doubtful whether he would run or not, and during the entire campaign he was on the verge of collapse at the close of every evening.

On the Republican side no stone was left unturned to get out the entire plutocratic as well as the Republican vote. Senator Lodge and Secretary Moody were imported from Washington and labored desperately to stem the rising tide of popular enthusiasm for the

people's cause. Never did a party wage a more gallant fight against overwhelming odds than did the Democrats of Massachusetts during the last campaign.

The result was the election of the Republican candidate for governor by something over 31,000 votes, and the election of the Republican candidate for lieutenant-governor by something over 9,000 votes. When it is remembered that Massachusetts is normally Republican by from 45,000 to 100,000 and that Mr. Moran polled over 190,000 votes in the state, with no well-organized machine and with but one prominent newspaper in his support, the result is truly phenomenal and gives encouragement to all friends of popular rule.

In this election labor for the first time threw its vote in a telling manner against the corporation henchmen, defeating several subservient tools of predatory wealth.

#### The New York Election.

In the New York election the conditions were in many respects similar to those in Massachusetts. True, the candidate of the Independence League and the Democratic party was not handicapped by lack of means, but in Greater New York, outside of his own papers, Mr. Hearst had no paper of large circulation sustaining him; while the great plutocratic Democratic journals,—papers like the *New York World*, the *New York Times*, the *New York Herald* and the *Brooklyn Eagle*,—were vying with the Republican machine-organs in their virulent attacks on Mr. Hearst.

The great corporation and Wall-street interests succeeded in getting Mr. Choate to select a judicial ticket which was promptly ratified by the Republican party and supported by such corporation journals as the *New York World*.

The Independence League and the Democrats nominated a ticket composed partly of strong, clean and incorruptible men, and partly of lawyers and satisfactory machine-politicians. The men placed on the ticket by the Independence League were men who could be depended upon to stand firmly for the interests of justice and the cause of the people against the corrupt aggressions of criminal wealth. Such men, for example, as John Ford, Samuel Seabury and Recorder Goff, were ideal selections. The Independence League refused to accept one of the



Tammany nominations and endorsed a Republican nomination in its place. To the amazement and confusion of the plutocratic Democratic and corporation interests, the corporation judiciary ticket went down in defeat. The people therefore have on the Supreme Bench for a long term of years a number of men whose integrity and loyalty to the interests of justice are unquestioned.

In the case of Mr. Hearst and the Democratic ticket, the opposition of all predatory wealth was active and aggressive. Mr. Hughes had fighting for him every member of the great criminal corporations that have exploited the people and corrupted the nation, as well as all the organs in the state which they could control. Unlimited capital was also at the disposal of the Republican machine, while Mr. Hearst had the active and virulent opposition of such Democratic bosses as the notorious Pat. McCarren, long the master of Brooklyn. McCarren as the legislative tool and agent of the Standard Oil and other corrupt corporations, was naturally bitterly opposed to Mr. Hearst, who has waged such relentless and oftentimes effective war on the criminal rich and corporate aggressors.

But Mr. Hearst went further. He refused to endorse the judiciary ticket which Pat. McCarren and his corporate confederates insisted on imposing upon the people. This aroused the fury of the notorious boss and he openly repudiated the head of the Democratic ticket and gave orders to his henchmen everywhere to knife him.

During the opening weeks of the campaign the Republican and plutocratic Democratic press confidently declared that they were not only going to overwhelmingly defeat Hearst, but the defeat was going to be so decisive—so absolutely overwhelming in character—that Mr. Hearst would never again be a factor in politics. This confidence was also voiced by Mr. Hughes. Later in the campaign it was found that the power of wealth and the power of the great plutocratic dailies, which have hitherto been practically invincible in political life, was failing in its influence over the public mind, and there was general consternation in Wall street. The Rogerses, the Ryans, the Morgans and other chiefs among the predatory bands that have so long exploited the people, became panic-stricken when confidential reports came from all parts of the state. Then it was that Boss Croker

was called upon to attack Mr. Hearst in the interests of the corrupt corporations; while the President of the United States permitted his Secretary of State—who by the way since the days when he entered public life as the defender of Boss Tweed has been one of the most active and effective defenders of criminals and promoters of the interests of the criminal trusts among the lawyers of New York—to enter the arena and deliver the most baseless and shamefully scandalous mud-throwing attack on the candidate of the Democratic party that has disgraced the political annals of America in recent decades, and this shameful address was published from one end of the state to the other and circulated, it is stated, by millions of copies.

Under these circumstances the result of the election in New York was in our judgment one of the most phenomenal moral victories for the people's cause that has been won in many years. That Mr. Hearst should have been knifed by McCarren and his corrupt crowd was to be expected, and in Brooklyn alone he lost something like thirty thousand votes. All the ballot-box stuffers, the grafters and the agents of the plutocracy who obey the bidding of McCarren naturally worked against Mr. Hearst. In Greater New York the influence of the unspeakable Jerome and the fraud Mayor McClellan was thrown for Mr. Hughes, together with the influence of all their congenial spirits.

In spite of the army of plutocratic dailies; in spite of all the power of the criminal rich of Wall street and the great corporations; in spite of McCarren and his hordes, Mr. Hearst carried Greater New York by nearly 75,000 votes.

Mr. Hughes' plurality in the whole state at this writing appears to be something over 60,000 in a vote of more than 1,440,000; but the remainder of the Democratic and Independence League ticket appears to have been elected. Mr. Hearst polled over 684,700 votes in the teeth of the most powerful opposition ever massed against a popular candidate in the Empire State.

In commenting on the results of the election, the London papers make a number of very significant remarks which indicate that our English cousins have followed the great conflict with considerable intelligence. Thus we find that the London *Daily Telegraph* holds that the moral of the election is that Americans, "while not quite ready to accept

Hearstism in full," are "heartily sick of being robbed by trusts and corporations, and are prepared to go a considerable way in that direction."

The London *Mail* sees in the result evidence of "a growing exasperation against trusts and their tactics"; and the *Chronicle* holds that the "Americans, if they are wise, will read the true moral, not in the majority against Mr. Hearst, but in the huge minority for him."

#### **The Result in Wisconsin.**

All friends of clean government and popular rule will be gratified at the results in Wisconsin. They constitute a magnificent victory for Senator La Follette, in spite of the opposition of Chairman Connor and all the enemies of Senator La Follette. The most notable victories for good government were the defeat of Congressman Babcock, elsewhere noticed, and the election of the fearless and aggressively honest District-Attorney of Milwaukee, Frank McGovern, who had been turned down at the Republican primaries. The defeat of Babcock and the reelection of McGovern were due to the magnificent work of Senator La Follette, and in spite of the efforts of Mr. Connor, Senator Spooner and the grafting and corporation interests of the state.

In our January number we intend to give an extended account of the results of the conflict in Wisconsin, based on facts reported to us by our special correspondent in Wisconsin which have arrived too late for insertion in this issue.

#### **Direct-Legislation Triumph in Delaware**

The result of the submission to the electorate of Delaware of the question as to whether or not the voters favored Direct-Legislation through the advisory Initiative and Referendum, must be gratifying to all friends of free institutions and fundamental democracy. Both the Republican and Democratic parties in their platforms advocated the Initiative and Referendum in Delaware, and the vote stood 17,318 for and 2,133 against these measures. This represents a little less than one-half the entire vote of the state. As is always the case in such instances, the ignorant voters and those who have no special interest or concern for the public weal did not take the trouble to vote one way or the other. While this measure is not binding on the legislature, it clearly shows the peo-

ple's servants the desires of the electorate and will doubtless prove the opening victory in the great campaign for the securing of a constitutional Direct-Legislation amendment in Delaware.

Great credit for this victory is due to Mr. Francis I. du Pont, the able, energetic and earnest President of the Initiative and Referendum League of Delaware. Our readers will remember that some months ago we published in "The Mirror of the Present" an exceptionally fine argument in favor of Direct-Legislation, by Mr. du Pont. It is the faithful, aggressive, untiring and unselfish labors of high-minded citizens like Mr. du Pont in our various commonwealths at the present time that give, we think, sure promise of the return of the nation to the ideals of the great fathers and the restoration of the government to the people, through practical, fundamental, but simple measures such as the Initiative, Referendum and Right of Recall.

#### **Mr. Benson on Secretary Root's Baseless Attack on Mr. Hearst.**

Secretary Root's shameful and baseless attack on Mr. Hearst aroused the indignation of right-thinking men everywhere, without regard to party affiliations. Ex-Attorney-General Monett of Ohio telegraphed to Mr. Hearst that if the election were to take place in Ohio the speech would give Mr. Hearst at least fifty thousand votes. The baseless charges which were the substance of Mr. Root's attack were excluded from the United States mails as too scandalous and scurrilous to be allowed to pass through the mails during the mayoralty campaign a year before.

Mr. Allan L. Benson, one of our editorial staff, reviewed the outrage in an admirable editorial in the *Detroit Times*, which, as it so excellently presents the facts in the case, we reproduce for the benefit of our readers. Only the exigencies of the Republican party and the dire need of the criminal rich who have filled the campaign coffers of the Republican party during recent years, could, we think, possibly explain this indefensible and morally criminal action on the part of the Secretary of State, whose unsavory record as a professional defender of rogues and promoter of the interests of the criminal corporations has few equals in the bar of New York. In his editorial Mr. Benson says:

"The campaign of slander and vituperation

against William R. Hearst must wane from now on.

"The limit was reached when Elihu Root, Secretary of State, speaking not only for the President of the United States, but for himself, denounced the man whose candidacy Mr. Bryan, only yesterday, again endorsed, as an accomplice in the murder of William McKinley.

"As the murder of the head of a state is the highest crime known to the law, including, as it does, both the crime of murder and the crime of treason, the crest of the wave of slander has been reached.

"And as those who may reiterate the charge are only obscure persons, as compared with the President and the Secretary of State, the wave must recede from now on, from sheer inability to maintain itself at the height to which Root rolled it.

"Anything that Elihu Root does is done as well as it can be done. His is a master-mind and upon everything it bears, it bears powerfully.

"His charge against Hearst of partial responsibility for the murder of Mr. McKinley was made with all the skill of the trained lawyer and thundered forth with all the power of the great orator.

"Such evidence as he had—scattered extracts from the Hearst newspapers—he assembled with all the art of a field-marshal stationing his battalions for battle.

"And his deductions from the facts were as strong as the facts themselves—and no stronger.

"All of these things being true, it becomes of importance to consider what are the known facts in connection with the murder of William McKinley.

"William McKinley was shot by Leon Czolgosz, a citizen of Cleveland, who declared that he had voted for Mr. McKinley, and that he had sought from him an office.

"After Mr. McKinley's death, Mark Hanna, believing as Mr. Root and Mr. Roosevelt now affect to believe, that the assassin might have been incited to murder by reading the Hearst newspapers, made an effort through agents to obtain from Czolgosz an admission that he received from the Hearst newspapers his suggestion to murder the president.

"But Czolgosz insisted to the day of his death that he had never read the Hearst newspapers and killed McKinley only because he believed he ought to be killed.

"These facts were printed in all the news-

papers at the time, and President Roosevelt and Elihu Root may be presumed to have known them.

"But if, on the other hand, Mr. Roosevelt, who immediately became president after Mr. McKinley's death, was not aware of these facts, or did not believe them to be facts, why, it may be asked, did he not, as the head of the nation, begin proceedings to bring Mr. Hearst to trial as an accomplice in the killing of McKinley?

"After the murder of Lincoln, several men and one woman were hanged who had less to do with the assassination of Lincoln than Hearst had to do with the killing of McKinley, if it be true, as Mr. Roosevelt says through Mr. Root, that 'Hearst is not guiltless of the killing of McKinley.'

"Again the question presses itself forward, Why did not Mr. Roosevelt attempt to bring Mr. Hearst to justice, if he believed then as now, that Hearst had incited Czolgosz to his crime?

"The best answer to this question is that Mr. Roosevelt did not believe then and does not believe now that Czolgosz received his inspiration from the Hearst newspapers.

"We are aware that in answering the question this way we are disputing the president's word, given through Mr. Root, but we prefer to doubt his word rather than his intelligence or his desire for justice.

"For if Mr. Roosevelt had believed that Hearst was even indirectly responsible for Mr. McKinley's death, he would not have been intelligent if he had not recognized his duty to run down the murderer's accomplice, and he would not have desired justice if he had neglected his duty.

"The plain truth seems to be that the Republican party in New York is in desperate straits—and possibly that Mr. Roosevelt sees a new leader springing up that may imperil plans that he is said to entertain for his own reelection for a third term.

"It is a pity that Mr. Root, who is so expert in weaving together alleged facts, did not take the trouble to weave a fabric that would shield Mr. Hughes from the charge that every great corporation thief from Rockefeller to Ryan is backing Hughes and fighting Hearst in the name of 'good citizenship.'

"That would have been such an interesting subject for him to have dwelt upon—yet he never touched it, much less told why it is so.

"Nor did he explain the peculiarity of the situation that is created by the fawning around Roosevelt, now that he is fighting Hearst, of all the corporation hounds who used to snap and bark at Roosevelt—even jumping at his throat—when Roosevelt, and not Hearst, was the most prominent radical in the country.

"We fear it is as we said some time ago—the country is becoming radical so rapidly that the radical of yesterday is the conservative of to-day.

"We said some months ago that if Hearst were to be the Democratic candidate for the presidency in 1908 that the trusts would try to bring about the renomination of Mr. Roosevelt; not because Mr. Roosevelt represents them in any sense, but on the theory that when it is impossible to avoid more than one of two evils, it is always wise to choose the least of them.

"With what Mr. Hearst so aptly calls the 'plunderbund' rejoicing in the president's attack on Hearst, our speculation regarding the future seems to be translating itself into accomplished fact."

#### **Elihu Root: A Word About The Man Who Baselessly Maligned Mr. Hearst.**

Elihu Root, since the days when he defended Boss Tweed, has been one one of the most valued lawyers for the criminal rich in the metropolis of our nation. As far back as the days when outraged justice and the plundered citizens of New York were striving to bring the colossal thief, William Tweed, to justice, young Elihu Root's pernicious activity in behalf of his client was of such a character as to call forth a severe reprimand from Judge Noah Davis of the Supreme Court. On this occasion the high-minded jurist, in speaking to Mr. Root and his associates, said:

"I ask you to remember that good faith to a client never can justify or require bad faith to your own consciences, and however good a thing it may be to be known as successful and great, it is even a better thing to be known as honest."

Later Mr. Root was counsel for "Jake" Sharp, but was unable to save his client from Sing Sing. In 1892 we find him attorney for the Whiskey-Trust; in 1898 he was a master-mind in assisting at the formation of the Watch-Trust; in 1895 he framed and had introduced into the legislature the Astoria Light and

Heat malodorous measure, in the interests of the colossal Rogers Lighting-Trust.

We pass over the ugly stories circulated in 1894 at the time of the New York Constitutional Convention, and come to the grave, direct and circumstantial charge of a criminal offense, made by Frederick D. Kilburn, State Superintendent of Banking of the Empire State. The serious offense charged by the high state official was the arranging for the State Trust Company to lend two million dollars to an office-boy acting as dummy for Thomas F. Ryan and his associates. In referring to the state officer's *exposé* of this criminal offense, the New York *World* of March 13, 1900, thus briefly epitomized the facts:

"*The Crime*—A director of the State Trust Company arranges and permits to be carried out a plan whereby \$2,000,000 cash is advanced from the treasury of the company to an office-boy, who acts as a dummy for six persons, at least two of whom are directors of the company.

"*The Offender*—Elihu Root, Secretary of War.

"*The Accuser*—Frederick D. Kilburn, State Superintendent of Banking, who said in his official report to Governor Roosevelt:

"Beyond all question, this loan was illegal, because excessive, and because, in part, it was made indirectly to directors of the trust company."

Is it strange that the criminal rich with one accord applaud Secretary Root and hail him as "safe and sane?" Is it strange that every trust magnate, every corporation highbinder, every great Wall-street gambler and upholder of predatory and privileged wealth, and all their journals, are mutual in their praise of this Handy Andy of Mr. Ryan and his like among the Wall-street exploiters of the people? And finally, is it strange that J. Pierpont Morgan and his friends of the gambling world of Wall street are very well content with Mr. Roosevelt as President, so long as he retains Elihu Root as a chief councillor?

The feudalism of wealth has no more efficient man among its servants than Elihu Root, who since he entered the practice of law has continually let his intellect to the service of criminals and to advance the interests of thieving trusts and corporations that are fattening off of the sustenance of the people. And this is the person who vilifies the man



who has recently rendered possible the conviction of the New York Central Railroad officials for criminal practices; who has haled the coal-trust into court; who stood between the people and the rapacity of the ice-trust

and the gas-trust; who secured the indictment of Bennett of the New York *Herald* for the publication of his "red-light" column; and who is more dreaded by the criminal rich than any other man in the Empire State!

## PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP OF NATURAL MONOPOLIES.

### Mayor Dunne on The Chicago Street-Car Situation.

MAYOR Edward F. Dunne, the incorruptible and progressive Mayor of Chicago, in the course of a recent article on Chicago's municipal-ownership fight, prepared for the New York *Independent*, pointed out the fact that the friends of municipal-ownership were steadily going forward as rapidly as circumstances permitted in preparing the way for the city to take over the street-railways. The companies have placed \$73,000,000 excess valuation on the properties, which of course the friends of municipal-ownership will not entertain; but Mayor Dunne has selected a commission of three expert and eminent engineers to estimate the value of the plants, and if the city fails to reach an agreement with the companies, it will offer to arbitrate the matter. Failing in this, the city will proceed to issue certificates for a new system and place these certificates on the market, when there is little doubt but what they would be readily taken up.

"Upon the maturity of these certificates," says the Mayor, "all of them, in my judgment, can be paid in full, and the people then owning their plant, can proceed to reduce fares to the lowest possible cost, as has been done in all the great cities of England and in many of the great cities of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Australia and Italy."

Of the evils that have become so flagrant under private-ownership, and of the awakening of the public consciousness to the menace and absurdity of private control, Mayor Dunne says:

"Corruption of public officials, the stealing of public property, favoritism in the selection of employés, strikes, inefficient service, exorbitant charges and insolence toward and defiance of the public has marked the history of private management of public utilities in

Chicago and elsewhere in America. The people have called a halt. The demand of the people to place a check upon public corruption by and with the referendum, at first feeble and unheeded, has swelled into a roar whose reverberations are heard in the council chambers of the land, as well as in the temples of finance.

"In my judgment the people are in no condition to be longer trifled with; no longer will they be despoiled and flouted as they have been in the past, and the legislator, councilman or alderman who remains deaf to the cry of the people and heedless of the popular demand for municipal-ownership under honest civil-service rules and the referendum, may as well prepare for sepulture under a stone upon which will be written the epitaph, 'He served the corporations—not the people.'"

### Three Views of The Railroad Question.

LIKE Direct-Legislation, public-ownership of public utilities is bound to more and more engage the minds of the people for the next ten years. To-day ten people are thinking and talking about these questions where one was interested a decade ago, when *THE ARENA* first took up these issues. The rapid growth of a sentiment in favor of public-ownership has been due very largely to the fact that the people have at last come to see that they can expect little real relief through the government from the extortions and corrupt practices of the railways, so long as these great arteries of trade are in the hands of private individuals. They have learned through bitter experience that the railroads are persistent, premeditated and insolent law-breakers whenever they fail to defeat the passage of legislation that interferes with the avarice and rapacity of the railway magnates. Moreover, they have learned that the chief corrupting influence in our government has for the past quarter of a century been the railroad influence. Since the pub-

lication of United States Senator La Follette's speech delivered in the United States Senate during the discussion of the railroad-rate bill, and especially since the outspoken stand of Mr. Bryan in favor of public-ownership, the railroad question has become a paramount issue, and the more thoughtful people everywhere, even in spite of the desperate efforts of the controlled press, are beginning to realize the fact that the only way to prevent the government from being under the complete control of the railways and the express companies is for the people to take over these great public utilities. True, even among strong reformers, there are some who by reason of their extreme individualism hope that the question may be adjusted short of public-ownership. Thus recently two remedies have been proposed, by the Hon. S. M. Owen and Mr. Louis F. Post, prominent leaders of the cause of progressive democracy.

#### Hon. S. M. Owen's Plan.

Hon. S. M. Owen, the editor of *Farm, Stock and Home* of Minneapolis, Minnesota, after quoting Mr. Bryan's Madison Square utterance on the railroad question, observes that there are two facts that have recently been impressed that will greatly influence thinking people.

"The first was by Senator La Follette, upon the passage of the rate-bill by the last congress. He was emphatic in voicing the opinion that the law would be of no practical benefit because no provision had been made for determining what a fair rate would be; whether capitalization or present value of the properties should be the basis upon which to compute a rate that would be fair to all. The second thought was expressed by Mr. Bryan. Referring to rate-making by a commission he said:

"If an appointive board has the power to fix rates and can, by the exercise of that power, increase or decrease by hundreds of millions of dollars the annual revenues of the railroads, will not the railroads feel that they have a large pecuniary interest in the election of a president friendly to the railroads?"

Mr. Owen thus elaborates his plan and what he believes would be gained by its adoption:

"The president appoints the board, Mr. Bryan explained; and it must be conceded

that there is sufficient reasonableness in his question to arouse the fear it suggests.

"There is one certain, positive-actioned method by which the basis demanded by Senator La Follette can be created and the condition suggested by Mr. Bryan prevented, and that is by government-ownership of railroads; not of all the railroads of the country, nor of any considerable percentage of them. In fact, one trunk line government-owned and operated road from the Atlantic to the Pacific—costing, if a double-track, less than the Panama canal will when completed—would be sufficient to demonstrate practically what railroad services can be rendered for while making a fair return on actual capital invested in the enterprise.

"That vital point demonstrated, the rest will be easy. The power of public sentiment alone, buttressed by the demonstrated truth, would soon compel all roads to come to the same plane; or if not, that truth would make possible, even easy, legislation so intelligent and just that successful evasion of it would be impossible. But at the most it would require government-ownership of not more than ten per cent. of all our railroads to constitute a rail-rate regulation system that for ease and economy of operation, positiveness of action and satisfactory results will never be approached by mere legislative enactment and official administration.

"Such limited public-ownership would destroy railroad monopoly; would 'take railroads out of politics'; would make rebating impossible, for every patron would be in the enjoyment of the minimum and only rate; it would orphan every trust; every city, town and individual would enjoy equality of opportunity as to transportation; it would stop the further concentrating in the hands of the few the dangerously large fortunes that now menace the republic; it would make railroads the gentle, useful, burden-bearing servants of the people instead of their tyrannical and despoiling taskmasters. Railroads would no longer constitute a 'problem,' and government, state and nation, would breathe a purer air, freer from the pollution of selfishness and greed, than it has since railroads became a 'problem.' And purer than it ever will breathe while legislation is invoked to regulate a system the destruction of which is imperatively demanded by a people wronged and a nation outraged. Regulation means enlarging, complicating, intensifying the 'prob-

lem,' while in the last analysis it will be found that tranquility and peace, in this regard, will not abide with us permanently until they can clasp hands across the problem's corpse."

**Mr. Louis F. Post's Proposition.**

Mr. Louis F. Post, the versatile and fundamental thinker who so ably edits *The Public* of Chicago, finds much in Mr. Owen's plan to approve. He, however, believes that the nation should take over all the railroads but leave the traffic on the roads open to free competition. His views are thus expressed:

"The only true way, as we believe, of killing railway corruption and monopoly, is to construct and maintain governmental rail-highways, with time-table regulations which would allow any person to run trains on equal terms with every other person. This would encourage the free play of competition in transportation, and there would be little chance to corrupt train despatchers."

**Hon. George Fred. Williams' Views.**

Hon. George Fred. Williams, who is justly recognized as the ablest and most fundamentally sound leading progressive Democrat of New England, in the course of a masterly discussion on the railroad situation delivered in Tremont Temple, Boston, on October 27th, showed how absolutely futile had been every attempt to regulate the railroads. He pointed out the fact that the Massachusetts Commission, and, indeed, those of New England, were generally regarded as models. Next he proved most conclusively that these commissions were the responsive tools of the railways and that the systematic discriminations and rebates had gone on year in and year out under the very nose of the commissioners, without their taking any cognizance of the crimes that were being committed. He showed how the railways had gained complete control of political parties and dominated the politics of the various states. Nor was this strange, because the prize of railway monopoly and the enormous advantages it offered for great wealth, by secretly combining with certain trusts and combinations, were such that corrupt ownership of government and consequent ineffective regulation were bound to prevail until the people took over the railways and operated them as do Switzerland, Germany, New Zealand, Austria-Hungary, Italy and other lands, in the interests of the people and

not for the enrichment of the few through corrupting the people's government. He held that nothing short of absolute ownership and operation of the railways could solve the question.

Personally we incline to this view. We doubt whether any arrangement such as proposed by Mr. Owen would prove of practical value in the long run, because the great private interests would soon as completely control the management of the public road as they have controlled the government during the past quarter of a century. Secondly, we think it is more than probable that if the government owned the railway tracks and left the traffic free to competition over those tracks, in a short time powerful combinations would be effected and secret organizations would gain a practical monopoly of the traffic, while they would also exert the same corrupt and baleful effect on government that they now exert, though perhaps in a less marked degree.

**Leading Republican Senators on Record as to The Advantage of Government Ownership of Railways.**

SINCE Mr. Bryan and other leading progressive democratic statesmen have advocated popular ownership of railways, the railway magnates of Wall street have become alarmed and their special-pleaders in the government and the press have vied with each other in uttering absurd alarmist cries that have so frequently been the chief stock in trade of the tools of the interests, in lieu of appeals to reason. In former days, before the people found out how systematically the feudalism of wealth had manned the government with its own agents for the purpose of defeating the will of the people, these cries, when uttered by United States Senators and others in prominent governmental positions served most admirably the purpose of the interests. Now, however, the day of popular credulity is rapidly passing.

In the recent Massachusetts state campaign Senator Henry Cabot Lodge has been one of the chief, if not the principal offender in raising absurd alarmist cries and seeking to deceive the people by a plentiful use of epithets in lieu of arguments. It is difficult to conceive how it was possible for him to utter his ridiculous cries about governmental-ownership of railways imperilling free government, or to characterize this sane and practical measure, which has been success-

fully adopted by the Republic of Switzerland, the Commonwealth of New Zealand, the German Empire, Italy, and other prominent nations, as the embodiment of Socialism and something subversive in character. All that he has said in regard to the railroads might with equal force be urged in regard to the post-office department. And now comes to light a report of a committee, the majority of whom were prominent members of the Republican party in the United States Senate and whose Chairman was Senator Cullom of Illinois,—a report which was made even before Germany and Switzerland had taken over the railways and proved in actual practice the good results which far-seeing statesmen had long predicted would follow from public-ownership. In this report, given by Senator Cullom's committee, we find this significant language:

"The time may come when the people of the United States will be forced to consider the advisability of placing the railroads of the country completely under the control of the general government, as the postal service is, and many believe the telegraph service should be. This would seem to be the surest method of securing the highest perfection and greatest efficiency of the railroad system in its entirety, and the best method of making a harmonious whole in its operations and of bringing about that uniformity and stability of rates which

is the greatest need of trade and commerce."

That report was made eighteen years ago and every year since has emphasized the necessity for the changes thus suggested by the Cullom committee. The results of the government operating the railway systems in New Zealand, in Switzerland and elsewhere have clearly demonstrated this double advantage of public-ownership: (1) it destroys ownership of government by the railroads, as is the case in the United States to-day, and thus cuts off the largest stream of corruption that for years has been polluting national, state and city official life; while (2) it gives all the people equal advantages and incomparably improves the service over the service it has displaced.

The question of public-ownership and operation of the railways is up for popular settlement. It is a dominant issue in the battle between plutocracy or privilege and class-rule on the one hand, and free government, civic purity and popular rights on the other. In the long run the people will triumph as surely as they triumphed in the war of the Revolution, but the victory will not be without a long and violent struggle on the part of the people against the entrenched power of arrogant, determined and conscienceless privileged wealth, which for so long has been enriching itself through the perfidy of the people's servants.

### SOUND MORALITY *VERSUS* MORBID PRURIENCY.

#### Mr. Comstock Not Desired at The Mother's Congress.

**A**N EVENT perhaps even quite as significant as that which marked the National Purity Federation's meeting, was the recalling of the invitation extended to Anthony Comstock by the Pennsylvania Mothers' Congress. The press dispatches published in the Boston dailies of October 20th stated that "the invitation extended to Anthony Comstock, the purity mentor of New York, to address the Pennsylvania Congress of Mothers at Johnstown on November first has been recalled." One of the prominent members is quoted as saying: "I myself have pictures and statuary in my home which are

perfectly beautiful and which I know Mr. Comstock would destroy if he could."

It would seem from the above that the more thoughtful and healthily moral members of the Mothers' Association have no sympathy with prurient imaginations that see impurity and evil in things that to a healthy or normal mind suggest not only naught that is low or debasing, but that which is beautiful, pure and fine. We well remember when at school, one of the boys in our room seemed unable to see anything that did not suggest something low, vile or sensual. His mind seemed to so brood over vile and low things that his imagination apparently became so saturated with sensual concepts that all things took on



an evil cast, just as one looking through green glass beholds the green sheen on every object seen. On one occasion, when this lad had obtruded one of his coarse and suggestive remarks while some of us were enjoying an historical painting that to all save the youth in question was free from any suggestion of sensualism, a schoolmate exclaimed, "I think the fragrance of a rose would suggest something low to Will."

Now it may not be the case that Anthony Comstock has searched so long for that which is sensual, low or corrupt that his mind has reached the stage of the person who looks at the world through green glass. It may be possible that he is not in the position where it is impossible for him to look at anything without seeing something degrading and immoral in it; but many of his acts of late years suggest the possibility of this state, or else that he is of that order of mind that so fears the power of evil over good that he believes that ignorance is the only helmet for virtue; that innocence born of ignorance is a better safeguard for our young men and women from the multitudinous pitfalls of civilized life than knowledge imparted by high-minded men and women with a view to making the young morally strong and healthy through knowledge coupled with appeals to the reason to think fundamentally, sanely and normally.

There was a time in the far-away past when minds of this order, that seemed to endow evil, and especially sensualism, with infinite potency, so distrusted the power of righteousness and virtue over their own minds that they fled to the deserts and to retreats, that their eyes might not even be tempted by the sight of women. Now for such persons it may be that the retreat or the desert is the healthiest place; but certainly men who so exalt the potency of evil, and especially of sensualism, that they see grossness and vileness in the breathing statues that represent some of the noblest creations of genius of the ages, should not be encouraged to pose as censors of morals, as they would inevitably teach the immature and unformed imagination of youth to look for things evil and degrading or sensual in nature and art, instead of seeing beauty, nobility and purity which the sane, healthy, artistic and informed mind sees in the master-creations of the ages.

To us it seems that a mind so keen to scent out corruption and immorality where minds like that of Ralph Waldo Emerson would see

only beauty, and so indiscriminate in its attacks on the good as well as the evil as is Mr. Comstock, is liable to work a vast amount of evil to the young and to the public imagination as a whole, by centering the attention of the people on evil rather than good, making them look for that which is low, vile and debasing when they otherwise would see none of these things.

A recent issue of *Life* contained an admirable cartoon which hits off what many people believe to be Mr. Comstock's mental attitude. This cartoon represents Mr. Comstock as an angel flying to the gates of Heaven, but St. Peter sternly forbids his entrance, saying, "No, Anthony, no; we may have things here you would object to."

#### The National Purity Federation Holds a Remarkable Meeting.

THE NATIONAL Purity Federation at its recent meeting in Chicago evinced a degree of wisdom in relation to the great question of sex morality that has seldom if ever before been manifested in similar congresses, in the broad and fundamental manner in which it considered the question. Heretofore usually the tendency has been to look on the question of morality in a superficial and narrow way, but in the recent convention the members welcomed broad, judicial and fundamental consideration of the problem, which indicates that the old ostrich-like policy, which sought to stifle anything like healthy and fearless consideration of grave questions absolutely essential to sound morality, is to give place to a mental attitude in line with the modern enlightened and scientific spirit of our time.

Perhaps the most notable paper delivered at the meeting was read by Mr. Theodore Schroeder, one of the associate editors of *THE ARENA*.

At our request a correspondent in attendance has furnished us an excellent news-note dealing with the significance of this important gathering, from which we quote the following:

"An astonishing thing happened in Chicago at the recent meeting of the National Purity Federation. Mr. Theodore Schroeder, the attorney of the Free-Speech League of New York, was allowed to address that Conference on the need for more liberty of the press in the discussion of sex problems as a condition of moral progress.

"Mr. Anthony Comstock, who is always conspicuous on such occasions, was announced to reply but failed to appear. The still more remarkable thing was that this organization, which in the popular mind stands for organized and legalized prudery, did unanimously adopt a resolution almost as broad as Mr. Schroeder's contention.

"In his argument he reminded us that: 'Only upon the subject of sex do we by statute declare that artificial fear is a safer guide than intelligent self-reliance, that purity can thrive only in concealment and ignorance, and that to know all of one's self is dangerous and immoral.' He made an unanswerable argument for the right of every individual to know for himself what is nature's moral law of sex, and to have access to all the evidence which anyone might be willing to submit, if permitted.

"Then he went on to show how under our laws against 'obscene' literature that right to know has been destroyed. We thought that the liberty of the press guaranteed by our Constitution, meant the right to tell the truth from good motives, but all that has disappeared by the unauthorized judicial amendment of our charter of liberties. Upon the subject of sex, truth and good motive for a publication are no longer a defense when the publisher is arrested as a disseminator of obscenity.

"Under the scientific absurdities which courts pronounce as the 'tests of obscenity,' nothing can escape judicial condemnation. In a scientific paper before the last International Medical Congress, Mr. Schroeder showed that if the judicial tests of obscenity were applied to 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' it must be adjudged a criminally 'lewd' book.

"Before the Purity Federation he showed that once by necessary implication and twice by expressed judgment have the courts declared our Bible to be criminally obscene, and furthermore, that courts and juries of irreligious men, relying wholly upon precedents already established, might destroy every Bible in the land, as well as most of our classical literature. The test of obscenity prescribed by our courts was applied to the ten commandments, and it was shown that an impartial enforcement of the law, would suppress them as criminally obscene.

"This extraordinary statute makes no exception for scientific medical books, even when circulated among professional men. By dictum only, have the courts so amended the law that these books thus circulated are

tolerated in spite of the statute, and not as a matter of right under it. An exact enforcement of the letter of our statutes, under the present judicial tests of obscenity would extirpate all the medical literature upon the subject of sex.

"Many suppressed books were described. They came from physicians of the highest standing in their profession, and from the most conventional and conservative moralists. Nearly all of the criminal books mentioned in Mr. Schroeder's argument had the endorsement of some clergymen or religious leaders. Of course many controversial books advocating unconventional ideas have also been suppressed.

"On the day following this paper, the Purity Federation unanimously adopted a resolution which, to the outsider at least, would seem to mark a new epoch among purity workers. The following is a salient paragraph:

"*Resolved*, that the President be empowered to appoint a permanent committee of seven, of whom he shall be one, who shall seek to secure such changes in the judicial tests of obscenity as will make the law so certain that by reading it anyone may know what constitutes its violation and to secure such an interpretation of the law as will make impossible the suppression of any scientific and educational purity literature."

"Another evidence of very great progress was the general sentiment of these Purity delegates in favor of sexual instruction in our schools.

"The New York *Sun*, on October 13th, closed an editorial upon these incidents of the Purity conference with these pointed words:

"The truth is that a new school of purity has sprung up in the world, and for the present Mr. Comstock must be content to pass as an old foggy, out-of-date, mid-Victorian, unfashionable, or whatever the stronger party chooses. The new school is for discovering corruption; his school was ever for concealing it. He conceived credulity to be a more peaceful state of mind than curiosity and was always for hiding anything that might possibly offend even our dramatic critics. His opponents might be generous enough to credit him with a laudable ambition—the honest desire to raise every one to what we have been told is the very height of felicity: 'the possession of being well-deceived, the serene and peaceful state of being a fool among knaves.'"

IN OTHER LANDS.

**England's Revenue From Her Income-Tax.**

**D**URING the last two years, or for 1905 and 1906, the government of Great Britain has realized over \$156,473,000 from her income-tax. Of this amount England furnishes over \$137,115,000; Scotland, a little over \$14,440,000; and Ireland, a little over \$4,916,000.

If our Supreme Court had remained true to the uniform decisions of the Supreme Bench up to the time when the feudalism of wealth gained mastery of our government, the great fortunes swollen to unhealthy proportions in this land, and which so largely escape all taxation to-day, would be contributing a substantial sum to the nation's revenue that is now being largely levied on the poor citizens who are more honest than the great tax-dodging princes of privilege.

When, some years ago, our income-tax bill was up for passage, the American plutocracy, not then so powerful as now, vainly endeavored to prevent its passage through Congress. Failing in this, it had recourse to the Supreme Court; but as the Supreme Bench had up to that time uniformly sustained the income-tax, the great attorneys who prostitute their splendid intellectual abilities for gain and who are the paid retainers of privileged interests, found it extremely difficult to furnish plausible reasons which would enable the Supreme Court to reverse itself or the decisions previously rendered by the bench. And it will be remembered that at the final hearing of the case before the full bench, the plutocracy only won owing to one of the members of the Bench, Justice Shiras, who had long been a corporation attorney before his elevation to the august judicial tribunal, turning a somersault and reversing himself, so to speak, thus killing the bill and at the same time greatly lowering the respect of thoughtful people for the Supreme Court of the land.

There are many indications that the thinking millions of America are preparing to put an end to the acquisition and augmentation of great fortunes that are the result of special privileges and monopoly rights, and which are not only not earned by their acquirers but are largely due to direct and indirect robbery of the millions by various lawless acts as well as by monopoly and special privileges. So also there is a steadily growing demand

for progressive income and inheritance taxes which shall serve to give back to the State a small portion of the wealth taken from the people by injustice or held back from the government by tax-dodging and other methods of evading the spirit and letter of the law.

**Clemenceau Selects a Progressive Democratic Cabinet.**

**FRIENDS** of progressive democracy and social advance by the step-by-step method are gratified with the make-up of the new French cabinet recently formed by Prime Minister Clemenceau. It was feared by some that after the great debate between Clemenceau and Jaurès, in which the master Socialist statesman criticized the action of the cabinet, that a breach between the Socialists and M. Clemenceau might have been made so pronounced as to cause the new Prime-Minister to seek coalitions that would leave the Socialist group out of consideration and which could only be made by union with reactionary elements that would render impossible the steady carrying forward of a rational and radical democratic programme. These fears appear to have been groundless, as the new cabinet contains two independent Socialists, MM. Briand and Viviani.

In addition to the Socialists, the cabinet contains six radicals, besides General Picquart, the dauntless defender of Dreyfus. Of the other three members, two belong to the Democratic Left division and one to the Democratic Unionists. It appears that at least eight and probably nine members of the cabinet, therefore, would be heartily in favor of all social, economic and political advance movements that should be in alignment with the ideals of progressive democracy.

Though at this writing the new cabinet has not furnished its programme, it is believed by many leading statesmen of France that the new general programme, besides providing for the carrying out of the law for separation of Church and State, will embrace legislation establishing old-age pensions, the purchase by the state of certain important railway lines, and the creation of a state monopoly for petroleum and alcohol.

It is interesting to note that the two Socialist members are Ministers of Labor and of Education.

M. Clemenceau's long labors as a journal-

ist have apparently convinced him of the superiority of journalists for important government positions, as six members of the present cabinet have been journalists.

Germany is greatly displeased at the elevation of Clemenceau to the Premiership, partly because of his scathing arraignment of Germany in the old days, when he was one of the most brilliant and powerful of French journalists, but chiefly because she fears that the new

Prime Minister will further cement the bonds of union between France and Great Britain.

The Pope, it is said, was greatly pained on hearing of the composition of the Clemenceau cabinet. He appeared to be laboring under the belief that the recent hostile attitude of the Papal See toward the French Republic would have intimidated the present government. The effect, however, seems to have been rather the reverse of what the Vatican anticipated.

### DR. BISBEE ON PROGRESS IN THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

WHILE a doubtful battle has been waging in the economic field, while the armies of reform have been marching in a circle and though assuming various formations have made little advance, the church has been steadily moving on to greater freedom, liberality and light.

Since THE ARENA first began its warfare for truth and justice, we have seen the Farmers' Alliance rise and fall, the Populist Party threaten to sweep the nation and then subside into innocuous desuetude, the almost total eclipse of the Prohibition Party, the complete capture of the United States Senate by the trusts, the reign of bribery and graft, the spasmodic uprising of the people here and there, a strange confusion of forces, making one scarcely knows whither. Whether this government is to advance into a true democracy or is to retrograde into an oligarchy of wealth is beyond the power of the present to determine, but that the church is to move on into the light, and consequently into greater power and influence, is as sure as that the sun shines. There are no forces in the church, as there are in the government, which can be organized to check the onward march of truth. Every day obstructive individualities are being removed by death and there are none to take their place. As an instance of this advancing thought we notice the recent attempts at heresy trials in the largest protestant denomination in the country, namely, the Methodist Episcopal. Three attempts have been made to expel three leading thinkers in three different conferences of this church, and all have failed. In one case, that of Borden P. Bowne, LL.D., of the Boston University, trial was brought and the defendant acquitted. In the two other cases, that of Rev. Charles Parkhurst, editor of *Zion's Herald*, and that of Hinckley G. Mitchell, D.D., late Professor

in Boston University School of Theology, the charges for heresy were dismissed as trivial. And yet there is little doubt that in a technical sense all three of the accused were guilty. They had all promised to preach and maintain the doctrines of their church, something which an intelligent man can hardly do in this enlightened age.

The doctrines of the church are medieval, formulated in an age when God was an external being, the first man was created in a minute, the earth was flat, and the Bible was infallible. Now God is immanent, man a slow development, the earth is a sphere, and the Bible the literature of a growing people. Men may say they believe the old doctrines, or claim faith in all the essentials, but literally and technically they do not believe, and cannot believe, what the fathers preached and sought to maintain; and yet they can rarely be convicted or even brought to trial for heresy.

The church has not yet sloughed off all the dross of fanaticism and absurdity of belief, but it is advancing and can never return to the refuge of infallibility or the covert of special spiritual privilege. Wherever to-day it attempts to set up a monopoly of the way of salvation it makes itself a laughing stock and is at once discredited by all rational minds. It is rapidly recognizing the situation and is now turning from the evangelism of death to the evangelism of life. Instead of laying the chief stress on salvation from a future hell, the endeavor is to save men from a life of falsehood and selfishness here.

We are glad to note this advance movement in the thought of the church, and while there may be exceptions to this advance, and while there may be occasional haltings of the vanguard, we predict a future church of splendid possibilities.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.



# PORFIRIO DIAZ: THE MAKER OF MODERN MEXICO.\*

## A BOOK-STUDY.

### I. THE BOOK.

THIS volume is probably the most interesting and informing life of the greatest constructive statesman of Mexico that has appeared. The author enjoyed special advantages in preparing her work. She had won the friendship of the wife of the President on a previous visit to the Republic when preparing her work *Mexico as I Saw It*. At that time Porfirio Diaz had interested himself in her and had extended to her special facilities which enabled her to visit and explore various little-frequented parts of this wonderful old land, even sending her military escorts when her path lay through regions that were not considered perfectly safe for unattended travelers to explore. *Mexico as I Saw It* greatly pleased the President, and on her return to the Republic she secured his reluctant consent to her writing a somewhat exhaustive work on his life and achievements. In order that the book might be authoritative in character, President Diaz placed at her command his own *Autobiography* and gave her free access to various governmental documents and data not generally accessible. She has performed her work in a very painstaking manner, interviewing eminent citizens throughout the Republic and gleaning wherever possible facts bearing upon her subject. Thus it is safe to say that no previous writer has had anything like the same opportunities for preparing an authoritative life of Porfirio Diaz as have been enjoyed by Mrs. Tweedie.

The work, however, is seriously marred by the author's extreme enthusiasm for her subject, which leads her at times to become fulsome in her praise, and this very absence of the judicial spirit tends to make the reader distrust the accuracy of the narrative. Biographers have two extremes to avoid. One is the ultra-judicial attitude which renders the biography cold, lifeless and uninteresting. The other is the extreme enthusiasm for the subject that obviously interferes with critical estimates and the judicial spirit without which

a work cannot be regarded as altogether reliable. It is extremely unfortunate that Mrs. Tweedie did not have some critical friend or discriminating book-reader at hand who could and would have indicated how, by leaving out a number of entirely unnecessary exhibitions of personal admiration for the great statesman, the work would have greatly gained in value and the subject himself would have stood forth in nobler proportions; because the simple story of an heroic life such as is that of Diaz, is far more effective than the story adorned by fulsome praise. This serious mistake on the author's part and some minor defects are blemishes in an otherwise very interesting and valuable work; but these defects are small in comparison with the general excellence of the life-story as given by Mrs. Tweedie.

### II. THE BOYHOOD OF PORFIRIO DIAZ.

Porfirio Diaz was born in Oaxaca in 1830. His father, who was the keeper of a small inn, died when the boy was but three years of age. The mother and his god-father, who was the bishop of Oaxaca, designed him for the priesthood, but the boy had other aims. In vain did the mother weep and entreat and the bishop argue and storm; the boy was obdurate. As a calling he determined to follow law for a time, though he early secretly decided to become a soldier and fight on the side of freedom; for from his early boyhood days bands of soldiers had from time to time camped in or nigh to Oaxaca, and at night the boy had been accustomed to visit these camps, where with open mouth and staring eyes he listened to the tales of daring narrated by the soldiers, who with the fertile imagination of the Southern races failed not to put a double varnish on the wondrous feats of their colonels in the various frays. But these soldiers in many instances had caught far more than a glimpse of the great ideals of free government based on justice and human rights toward which Mexico was even then blindly stumbling. At that time the boy began to dream and to vaguely plan to some day become a colonel. "He wove dreams in the

\**The Maker of Modern Mexico: Porfirio Diaz*. By Mrs. Alec-Tweedie. With over 100 illustrations and a map. Cloth. Pp. 422. Price, \$5.00 net. New York: John Lane Company.

night, and in imagination saw himself some day a colonel. Ah, but could he, the poor simple boy, ever rise step by step in the army and some day lead his regiment, some day help in the making of Mexican history, some day be of use to the land of his birth, the land he loved with all the ardor of youth, as he now loves it with the strength of maturity?"

It was necessary, however, for him to put aside the dreams of a soldier's renown in order to master the profession which next to the priesthood offered him the surest means of aiding in the support of the family. He entered school but soon found himself confronted by a number of serious problems. His mother, toil hard as she might, could not support herself and her two sons, and Porfirio as the elder found it necessary to do something to help drive back the wolf of want. When not studying, he worked hard for small returns, and at length, after he had some time been studying law, his studious habits and marked ability attracted the attention and enlisted in his behalf the personal aid of Don Marco Pérez, a learned judge and a professor in the Law Institute. He secured for Porfirio the coveted position of librarian, which enabled the youth to earn sufficient to continue his law studies uninterrupted.

Don Marco Pérez perhaps more than any other single individual influenced Diaz in the formative period of his school life. He was a leading Republican, a man of great breadth of thought and wide learning, and of rare enlightenment for the time and land. He implanted lofty ideals in the mind of the ambitious youth and impressed deeply on his plastic brain the fundamental principles that are essential to free government. He showed him that peace and order were necessary to prosperity and happiness, but that greater in importance than peace and order were justice and the rights of all the people; that these things must all go hand in hand ere Mexico could take her place among the sisterhood of enlightened free states. During his student period Pérez introduced Diaz to Juárez, the great statesman who was destined to lay broad and deep the foundations of modern Mexico.

Later Diaz was able to richly repay the great kindness shown him by Pérez, and as the incident illustrates the readiness to risk death for a friend or a principle that has ever been one of the most marked characteristics of Diaz, it is worthy of notice. In 1854 Pérez was arrested by the partisans of Santa Anna

on the charge that he was a Liberal conspirator against the despotic dictator. He was thrown into prison from which it was most probable he would have been shortly taken out and executed. Porfirio Diaz with the aid of his brother Felix, in the dead of night, climbed to the roof of the prison, eluding the sentinels who passed at short intervals. By his brother's aid Porfirio let himself down until opposite the little window of Pérez's cell. Here he arranged with the prisoner a plan by which the great patriot effected his escape.

### III. THE MEXICO OF THIS PERIOD.

It is difficult for us to-day, with Mexico as one of the most peaceful, well-governed and prosperous of the New World nations, to appreciate the condition of that distracted land for generations before the election of Diaz to the presidency. For three hundred years Mexico had been under Spanish rule, the spoil of as heartless, avaricious and insatiable a despotism as Europe has produced. The native Mexicans had been despoiled of their own and enslaved. The full-blooded Spaniards who remained in Mexico, as well as those who intermarried with the Mexicans, were looked down upon by the men who came from the Old World. Spain sent representatives of broken-down old aristocratic families to rule Mexico and drain her of her wealth for the Spanish government. Incidentally these foreigners found the province very useful for personal enrichment, and they almost invariably exacted a double dole of wealth from the impoverished and enslaved people. Corruption went hand in hand with cruelty. A reign of graft marked by appalling oppression prevailed. The church had early become all-powerful, but unhappily for the Mexicans, the church and state were locked arm in arm, both fattening off of the miseries of the multitude, and all revolts were not only frowned upon by the high church authorities, but the power of the Clericals was ever exerted to uphold foreign authority or reactionary and despotic ideals. Thus when Hidalgo, a Creole and one of the noblest of the Mexican priests, rebelled and with an army that flocked to his standard, swept forward with almost irresistible power, it was the magic of the church's authority more than aught else that wrought his ruin. It is not strange, therefore, that when the burdens became too ter-

rible to be borne, when load had been laid upon load on the backs of the people, until despair looked forth from the faces of the gaunt-visaged multitude and, mingled with the hunted stare, flashed deadly hate, the Clerical party as well as Spain became an object of aversion to millions of Catholic citizens; while after the triumph of Iturbide in 1821, when Mexico threw off the Spanish yoke, the Clericals were ever with the party of reaction and un-republican ideals. Iturbide, it will be remembered, demanded the independence of Mexico from Spanish rule; the recognition of the equality of Mexicans with Spaniards; and finally, the exclusion of all religions but that of Roman Catholicism from the state.

Iturbide was soon deposed in a revolt led by Santa Anna, one of the strongest and most malign characters in Mexico during a period of sixty years. Then came a time of disorder in which several men pronounced themselves presidents or rulers,—a period marked by ever-present revolutions in which despotism and anarchy went hand in hand. At length Santa Anna deemed himself strong enough to seize the reins of power. "He was all-powerful at the time when Diaz first entered politics as a rebel against his authority." Of Santa Anna our author well observes: "He violated every oath that he took, and was disloyal to every government which employed him."

He was clever, rapacious, unscrupulous, crafty and cruel. He had long been a strong figure in Mexican life, sometimes appearing as the people's champion, again as their oppressor; sometimes hailed as a Liberal, at others anathematized as a tyrant.

Mexico, as may well be imagined, presented a pitiful picture at this time. Her people were like blind men who had lost their way and were vainly seeking the smooth highway, blindly groping their way to the light of true freedom based on justice and orderly government. But as yet the goal was far off. Still, hopeless as seemed the outlook, there were at that moment two men, born and reared in Oaxaca—one a full-blooded Indian, the other part Indian—destined to win and wear large honors and to carve for themselves high niches in the temple of statesmanship, who were already dreaming great things for the mother-land,—Benito Juárez, the real emancipator and the foundation builder of modern Mexico, and Porfirio Diaz, the master-builder of the present Republic.

#### IV. BENITO JUAREZ, WHO LAID THE FOUNDATION OF THE MODERN MEXICAN REPUBLIC.

Juárez was one of the most remarkable men that the New World of the nineteenth century produced. He was a direct descendant from the once powerful and advanced Zapotec Indians. In his veins there coursed no European blood. When nine years of age he was left an orphan in the care of an uncle, also a full-blooded Indian. They lived in a wretched little village forty-five miles from the city of Oaxaca. The uncle treated the boy very brutally and one day he ran away and joined a band of provision venders who were on their way to Oaxaca. He remained in the city, but as he only knew the Indian language he almost starved before a fellow-Zapotec youth, who was a student, found him and secured for him a place in a family in the city. The head of the family in which he was engaged became greatly attached to him and through his generosity he was enabled to obtain an excellent schooling. It was the expectation of his benefactor that he would enter the church, but like Diaz, Juárez felt a strong distaste for the calling of the priesthood and on the death of his benefactor he became a student in the Law Institute. After graduating from it he became a judge, the governor of Oaxaca, and later Minister of Justice. He was several times elected President of the Republic of Mexico. Juárez was the most fundamental and far-seeing statesman in the Mexico of his day. He was the master-spirit in securing the great measures known as the Laws of Reform, which provided for:

"1. Equality of all men before the law, and the abolition of the privileged courts for priests and military men.

"2. Sequestration of the property of the Church, the dissolution of the Religious Orders, and eventually civil marriages, civil registration of births, deaths, etc.

"3. Religious toleration, with certain privileges for Catholic worship, and full separation of Church and State."

He was also a master-spirit in advocating and later in securing the adoption and enforcement of the great Liberal Constitution of 1857. During some of the darkest days in Mexico's history he was the great overpowering spirit representing democracy or the

spirit of liberal Republicanism, and by his resolute determination, his far-seeing statesmanship and his natural ability he was able to lay the foundations of the modern Republic and make it possible for his great successor to carry forward the work of national liberation.

#### V. DIAZ BECOMES A SOLDIER.

In 1854 Santa Anna's persecution of the Liberals, his retrograde programme and his exhibitions of despotism in his effort to become supreme dictator, led to general opposition on the part of those who had the courage of their convictions among the Liberals, and finally Don Juan Alvarez, a full-blooded Indian and a man of commanding intellectual ability, promulgated a Liberal programme known as the "Plan of Ayutla." It demanded freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of association, the abolition of the ecclesiastic and military privileges, and the establishment and extension of popular education. This programme or "plan," as all such manifestoes of that day were called, aroused great enthusiasm among the Liberals, and Santa Anna, finding his hold on the people waning, ordered an election to indicate his right to be the supreme dictator. The election of course was a farce, as wherever there was any fear of Liberal sentiment finding expression, soldiers were placed to awe the voters. Thus in the Law Institute at Oaxaca soldiers were stationed all around the building and the faculty were ordered to vote. Diaz was then a professor of law in the Institute. He braved the wrath of Santa Anna's men and voted for Alvarez. Orders were immediately given for his arrest, but he fled with a companion, and, obtaining guns and horses, the two succeeded in making their escape from the town before the officers effected any arrest. From this hour until the end of the long and bloody struggle that finally witnessed the triumph of Juárez, the expulsion of the French and the establishment of the modern Mexican Republic on the broad and liberal foundations of the Constitution of 1857, Diaz was a tireless soldier in the cause of Liberal government. He rose through his superior military genius, his dauntless courage, and skill, to the supreme command, and at every step he evinced military genius of a very high order, never appearing at such splendid advantage as when in a crisis or a desperate situation where only

a combination of intellectual acuteness and dauntless courage could wring victory from impending defeat. To but briefly summarize his military career would require a volume. A glance at two or three of his early engagements, however, will help us to understand Diaz as a soldier while illustrating many characteristics that have contributed largely to his success in the rôle of nation-builder.

The first noteworthy engagement in which he distinguished himself after allying himself with the Republican forces was at Ixcapa. He was then but twenty-seven years of age, a captain serving under Colonel Salado. The Liberal forces in this engagement numbered but 330 men; they were opposed by 700 well-armed soldiers. When Salado found the enemy so greatly superior to his own forces he foolishly expressed his belief in the hopelessness of the situation in the hearing of the soldiers and was preparing to beat a hasty retreat, when it was found that the enemy had flanked his forces and were pressing for an engagement. The Liberal soldiers were terrified and on the brink of a panic, when Diaz turned to his men and in a brief but thrilling speech instilled into them something of his own courage and mental exaltation. Then he cried, "Fix bayonets and follow me!" And he led them forth against a detachment greatly superior in numbers to his own with such vigor and enthusiasm that the enemy soon broke and ran. He then immediately attacked another column that was advancing from a different direction. Waving his cap, he shouted to the men to follow him, and the men, flushed with their first triumph, were quick to obey. Unhappily, before the enemy was reached, a ball struck Diaz, broke a rib and passed almost through his body. He fell to the ground and for a moment all was black before him. Then with an almost superhuman effort he sprang to his feet, pressed his cap over the wound to staunch the flow of blood, and rushed forward encouraging his men. Again the fury of the onslaught on the part of Diaz's command resulted in the rout of the foe. Now other detachments of Colonel Salado's force came up and the enemy was chased into a stream near by where boats had been in waiting. The early comers, however, leaped into the boats, leaving their comrades to swim the river, which was literally swarming with man-eating alligators. So, what with the shots of the triumphant Republicans and the industry of the hungry



hordes of alligators, few of the soldiers who reached the river effected a crossing.

There was no surgeon with the forces of Salado, and it was several months before the bullet could be extracted. Before the wound had healed the great cause called so imperatively that the wounded man felt compelled to actively engage in a strenuous fight when he should have been resting under skilful surgical care.

"Oaxaca was besieged by the Reactionary General José Maria Cobos. In a desperate attempt to seize provisions from the enemy, of which his men were badly in need, he [Diaz] opened his old wound, which had not thoroughly healed. In spite of this he maintained a gallant defense of the quadrants of the city entrusted to his command, and finally won a victory. General Rosas Landa, in command, impressed by the superiority of the besiegers in men and material, had talked of abandoning the town and cutting a way through the enemy's lines to the mountains.

"Diaz and other younger officers obtained consent to a final assault on Cobos' troops, which was delivered with such force and effect that after several hours' fighting they were obliged to retire in the direction of Tehuantepec, and the siege was raised.

"Rarely has a young officer at the outset of his military career chanced upon such a school of training in actual warfare as fell to the lot of Porfirio Diaz.

"It is quite impossible to enter in detail into all the numerous battles in which he participated; the victory against Cobos at Jalapa in February, 1858, when Diaz was for the first time entrusted with the supreme command of an expeditionary force; the night march and daybreak assault upon Las Jicaras a few months later, when José Conchado, the Reactionary General, was killed, and Captain Diaz, for his distinguished services on that day, was promoted major of the National Guard; the fight at Mixtequilla, in June, 1859, when the Clerical leader, Colonel Espinosa, was killed; the actions at Márquesado, Mitla, and Ixtepeji."

In August, 1860, a fierce conflict took place at Oaxaca, lasting two days. Early in the first day Diaz was badly wounded in the leg. He remained in the fight, however, all day, though the loss of blood and the inflammation

that set in rendered it almost impossible for him to remain on his horse long before the tide of battle turned. His conspicuous bravery secured for him "the rank of colonel in the permanent army, which was sent to him from Vera Cruz by President Juárez."

He was now thirty years of age and had reached what was the summit of his boyhood's ambition, but the vista had greatly broadened. Life had come to mean infinitely more to him and the duty he owed his country in her hour of need rose before him as a sacred trust. He determined to become a patriot priest of liberty and one of the fathers of the Republic. In reward for a brilliant military feat at a critical time in the battle of Jalatlaco, he was in July, 1861, made general of a brigade.

We have now come to the close of the great War of Reform, with the triumph of Juárez and the Constitution of the Liberal Republicans; but just at the moment when the dawn seemed about to break over the exhausted, prostrated and distracted country, a new calamity befell the land of the ancient Aztecs.

Napoleon III., not content with betraying his Republic and enslaving her people, plotted to seize Mexico as the first important move in carrying forward a dream for foreign conquest which he entertained. The United States was in the midst of her terrible Civil war, else he would have not have attempted his bold scheme, even though masked by false pretenses. Maximilian was forced on the Mexicans, to the great joy of the Clericals and reactionaries; but the friends of freedom were nothing if not Spartans in bravery and loyalty to the ideals of freedom, and among the great champions of freedom Juárez the President and Diaz the intrepid and brilliant general, kept the fires of liberty brightly burning in the North and South, long after the usurpers were enthroned in the ancient capital of Montezuma.

#### VI. THE FRENCH INVASION AND THE EN- THRONEMENT OF MAXIMILIAN.

Craftily and with the deceit in which he gloried and which was his chief element of success, Napoleon succeeded in masking his purposes from the European powers interested in Mexican bonds and claims, until he gained the acquiescence necessary for his immediate acts. Then the plot slowly unfolded itself, and in the end Maximilian of Austria,

a puppet of Napoleon, was declared Emperor of Mexico, and his position it was the purpose of Napoleon to uphold by French bayonets for French interests.

It was a despicable plot, worthy of its author, but the Mexican Republicans, though poor, exhausted and in ill condition to defend themselves, stubbornly contested the steady advance of the French from Vera Cruz. Finally, however, in May, 1863, Puebla, the chief citadel of the Republican forces that lay between the enemy and the capital city, was compelled to surrender after heroic resistance on the part of the Republicans under General Ortega. Diaz, together with the other officers, became a prisoner. The French commander offered to parole them all if they would sign a pledge not to take up arms against Maximilian. This the patriots refused to do, and they were thereupon informed that upon the following day they would be marched to fever-laden Vera Cruz. That night, however, Diaz, who the Indians had long declared held a charmed life, effected his escape. He was pursued but not retaken, and in a short time was in his own loved Southland, ready to again raise the Republican standard.

With the fall of Puebla, Juárez found it necessary to quit Mexico City. He therefore removed the seat of constitutional government farther north, making his first stop in a series of flights that were to follow after leaving Mexico City, at San Luis Potosi. Juárez now tendered Diaz the supreme military command, but the latter refused this on the ground that there were so many older generals who might resent his promotion and abandon the cause of the Republicans. He did, however, accept at Juárez's earnest solicitation the position of general-in-chief of the army of the East.

Maximilian strove to bribe Diaz by an offer of station and honor if he would come over to the imperial cause, but the patriot indignantly spurned this. Then Marshal Bazaine, the great military prop of Maximilian, was sent to crush the dangerous foe. With an immensely superior force Bazaine laid siege to Oaxaca, and after forty days Diaz was compelled to surrender, owing to the fact that his supplies and ammunition were exhausted. He was removed to Puebla, where he was imprisoned for many weary months. At length, however, he effected his escape in spite of the vigilance of the French.

In September, 1865, Diaz commenced a

memorable one-hundred-days' campaign marked by four victories, many deeds of daring, and the organization of a great Brigade. Two events of 1865 were big with fate for Mexico and the forlorn hope that was keeping the fires of liberty burning throughout the land. One was the close of our Civil war and the other the decree of October 3d,—the bloody and infamous decree issued by Maximilian but said to have been instigated by Bazaine. It, after alleging that the Republic had ceased to exist, declared that thereafter all persons, wherever found, who resisted the authority of Maximilian, would be shot within twenty-four hours of their capture. Had the ill-starred Maximilian possessed the vision of a seer he might have seen that when he placed his signature to that savage and infamous decree he sealed his own fate. After the promulgation of the bloody order the wholesale slaughter of the patriots commenced. Brave and honorable officers, aged patriots and noble-minded youths, all who were captured were remorselessly shot. A thrill of horror ran through Mexico and the civilized world. Our government, now that the Civil war was over, was free to act, and to her honor be it said, she acted promptly. She sent a firm but diplomatic protest to France, clearly giving Napoleon to understand that he must withdraw his troops from Mexican soil, while an army of observation was sent by the United States to the Mexican frontiers. Napoleon acted on the hint and slowly began to withdraw his troops. But this action resulted in increased activity among the warring forces. The followers of Maximilian fought with the fury of despair. They felt that after the bloody decree and its ruthless execution, unless the Republican forces could be utterly destroyed, their own destruction awaited them; while the Republicans continued to gain accessions and fought with new spirit and courage. Stronghold after stronghold yielded. Juárez, with an army augmented to 15,000, advanced from the North. Diaz captured Oaxaca and marched on Puebla, which he carried by storm. Next he moved on the City of Mexico and laid siege to that capital. In the meantime Juárez's forces, under the command of General Escobedo, met and defeated Maximilian's leading general, Miramon, in a decisive engagement. The ill-starred Emperor retired to Querétaro, where the fall of the empire was sealed by the capture of Maximilian. He was shot. He

could not have expected other fate, in view of his merciless decree which had been the means of the shooting down in cold blood of hosts of the noblest sons of the Republic. It was not until after the execution of Maximilian that the City of Mexico surrendered to Diaz, but on June 21, 1867, the Republican forces entered the ancient capital in triumph.

Juárez now became the unchallenged ruler of the Republic. At the election which was held Diaz's friends urged him to announce himself as a candidate, but he positively refused and supported Juárez, who was unanimously chosen. Juárez, however, was not so successful in the work of reconstructing the state as he had been in promulgating vital principles, attacking hoary wrongs and laying the foundation for a great nation. He was sixty-two years of age at this time, very set and opinionated, and he had also come somewhat under the conservative influence that is characteristic of age. But few men, even among the great of the earth, remain young in spirit after they have passed the meridian period of life, and Juárez was no exception to this rule. He seemed to distrust his own principles and therefore delayed executing some of the most radical provisions of the new Constitution, to the amazement and indignation of many of his staunchest followers, among whom was Diaz. The latter was also further estranged from Juárez owing to the President's removing some of Diaz's most trusted friends and refusing to listen to the great general's earnest entreaties. Diaz, however, loved Mexico too much to attempt to paralyze Juárez in his work at so critical a time as that through which the young Republic was now passing. He completely reorganized the army, at the earnest solicitation of Juárez, after which he declined all offices under the new government and retired to his farm near Oaxaca. There he dwelt in peace and happiness with his family, cultivating the soil and studying the best methods for developing the agricultural resources of his region.

As time passed the breach between the Liberal and the Conservative Republicans widened, and Diaz became the recognized head of the Liberal party. Thus when in 1871 it became evident that the old statesman proposed to have himself reelected, contrary to the Constitution, Diaz announced himself as a candidate. Juárez was declared elected, but under circumstances that Diaz refused to accept as representing an honestly expressed

verdict on the part of the people. He took the field, but the sudden death of the aged statesman through heart-failure prevented the country from undergoing the horrors of another civil war, and the President of the Supreme Court, Lerdo de Tejada, became President.

Diaz then retired to his home and resumed his agrarian occupations. Lerdo was later elected President and served four years, but when he proposed to have himself declared President for a succeeding term, Diaz again headed an armed revolt which was finally successful, and in 1876 he became President of the Republic; not, however, until after he had had some thrilling and hairbreadth escapes.

He now set to work to create a great nation and to transform as rapidly as possible the distracted and poverty-stricken land into a peaceful and prosperous state. But at the outset his acts were often marked by great severity and not unfrequently seemed ruthless in the extreme. He was determined to stamp out disorder, lawlessness and the wholesale brigandage and murder that had become so marked a feature of Mexico during its alternate periods of despotism and anarchy. It would be unjust to judge all of Diaz's acts during the early days when he was seeking to lift Mexico out of the mire of lawlessness, violence, and corruption, by standards such as we should apply to an Anglo-Saxon ruler in an English-speaking land; for the conditions were so manifestly dissimilar. Then again, for three centuries Mexico had been the victim of a crushing and merciless despotism. When she had thrown off the foreign yoke, adventurer after adventurer rose, seizing the reins of government and beginning to play the despot. The people had been alternately the sport of tyranny and of anarchy so long that only a strong, resolute and masterful hand could have successfully established peace, order and security based on justice. Men in positions like that of Diaz must be judged largely by their master-motives. Had Diaz possessed personal ambition, greed for power or lust for gold, his fate would in all probability have been similar to that of all the self-seekers who had preceded him and who are to-day all but forgotten in the annals of Mexico. But Diaz was swayed by no base motive, passion or desire. His master or dominating thoughts were the creation of a great, free and prosperous state and the conservation of the best in-

terests of the people which should foster the happiness and aid the development of every Mexican, from the lowest to the highest. This is the secret of his wonderful success. It was this master-note in his rigid administration, together with his obvious desire to be strictly just at all times, that made the masses throughout the land clamor for Diaz to continue his rule when his term of office was drawing to a close. This, however, he refused to do, for at that time the law forbade a president becoming his own successor.

At the succeeding election Manuel González, a friend of Diaz, was elected President, but in 1884 there was a general demand for Diaz to return to power. Instinctively the nation seemed to feel that he was the one man who could bring order out of chaos, put down lawlessness, restore credit, and, in a word, take the infant nation by the hand and teach it to walk as wisely and well as its sister Republic on the North.

#### VII. THE STATESMAN AND HIS WORK.

Diaz accepted the charge not without some misgivings, but with the determination to consecrate his life to the nation. When he had first been elected his life had been frequently attempted, both by bullet and poison, and for some time his stern and rigorous rule, especially while stamping out brigandage, made him the object of personal hate. But he had ever been a stranger to fear, and now that he had consecrated his life to the work of making Mexico a great nation whose people should be law-abiding, prosperous and happy, he went resolutely forward.

At that time Mexico literally thronged with brigands and cut-throats. The mountains swarmed with bands of outlaws who rendezvoused in almost inaccessible fastnesses; and these were in league with confederates in the cities who kept them posted as to the movements of people of means and travelers who might carry valuables. Diaz knew that the great resources of Mexico could not be developed until brigandage was stamped out, and he went to work. The orders were to execute all brigands, and the President displayed his usual aggressive determination in the work, evincing much of the spirit of Wentworth and Cromwell. He overawed to a great extent the lawless population, but for a long time he did not succeed in stamping out brigandage, as the mountains were still fast-

nesses for multitudinous bands. Then a bright idea came to him. Many, perhaps most, of these men had lost all they possessed during the fierce wars. They had become outlaws—starving outlaws—largely through the force of untoward circumstances. Might it not be a wise thing to offer these Ishmaels of civilization the opportunity to regain their foothold among law-abiding citizens? Why not give them a chance? Accordingly, when the brigands were caught they were questioned. "How much money do you obtain a week on the average in your lawless and criminal life?" The prisoners answered. Diaz pondered. At last he decided on a daring programme. He then announced that he would pay the bandits double the amount which they claimed was the average of their acquisitions obtained by thieving. He would enroll them as members of the Mexican Constabulary or Rurals, an arm of her army, and they were to extend this offer to all the members of the various bands they knew; but each man must needs swear to faithfully obey all orders given and serve the state with the utmost fidelity, and if any bandits refused to accept this offer they were to be hunted down and killed wherever found. And he warned these one-time brigands against any laxity or failure in faithfully serving the State. The idea was an inspiration of statesmanlike genius. It worked admirably. Soon Mexico was like another land and the Rurals became the strongest military and police arm of the Republic.

But while Diaz was giving much attention to restoring law and order, he was also deeply engaged in other things, one of the chief of which was popular education. No subject has more engaged the attention of this statesman than that of free secular education for his people. He also has ever greatly interested himself in the agrarian and mineral development of Mexico, has interested foreign capital, and has entered heart and soul into every sane and reasonable proposition that promised to increase the prosperity and happiness of or develop and educate his people. Furthermore, he has been equally watchful to guard them against the spoilers. One striking example of this character will clearly illustrate this fact, as it is thoroughly typical.

The poor people of Mexico live almost entirely on Indian corn or maize and beans. What potatoes are to the Irish and rice to the Japanese, these two articles are to the masses



of the poor of Mexico. A few years ago the corn crop of the Republic was a partial failure, and a number of sharpers, seeing how the millions of the United States were being victimized by various trusts, by corners and by the remorseless exercise of monopoly power in such a way that untold millions of dollars were being wrung from the misery of the people by a privileged few, decided to practice the same thing on the poor of Mexico. They accordingly bought up all the corn they could obtain and when they had a monopoly they arbitrarily raised the price to an almost prohibitive figure, claiming, after the manner of the American trust-magnates and their agents and apologists, that the advance in price was due to the failure of the corn crop. Now there was a high tariff wall between Mexico and the United States, so the new Mexican trust felt secure. But the people cried to their President for relief, and Diaz promptly summoned Congress and asked that the tariff on corn be suspended during the scarcity. This was done, but still the price was so controlled by the trust as to remain at an exorbitant figure. The President next asked Congress to empower the government to buy corn and sell it to the people, even if at a loss to the government, so that the starving might obtain food at or near the ordinary figure. This was done. Next he sent to the officers of the Mexican Central Railway, which was charging an extortionate price for hauling the corn from the borders of the United States, and the President hinted that in this exigency, when the government was striving to relieve the distress of the people, it would be wise for the road to handle the grain at cost. Moreover, he had previously ascertained what that cost would be. The railroad officials knew the character of the President too well to adopt the tactics which the plutocracy has for years employed in the United States. Hence they promptly complied with his request, and the machinations of the corn-trust, whose master-spirits had planned, like our oil, coal and beef-trusts, to fatten off of the misery of the multitude, quickly came to naught. This is a typical example of how Diaz has ever made the interests of the people his first care. It would have been fortunate for the United States if her statesmen had been equally solicitous for the rights and interests of all our people.

When Diaz took the helm of state Mexico was in the depths. The nation was not only absolutely exhausted, but it seemed hopelessly

demoralized by the long reign of despotism and anarchy. The treasury was empty, the Republic had no foreign credit, and on the whole it is difficult to conceive of a more deplorable outlook for a nation than that which confronted the resolute President. But he has in the less than thirty years that he has been the master-spirit of the nation recreated Mexico. No greater transformation is to be found in any nation. As our author well observes in summing up the results of Diaz's rule:

"That terrible poverty which sapped the life's blood from the country during three-fourths of the last century has turned to affluence. Peace is the outcome of Revolution. The land, jibed and jeered at abroad, now holds a position among the leading nations. Lawlessness has given place to wise jurisdiction. The Mexicans are better governed, they can afford to pay the taxes imposed for the benefits they receive, and are yet more wealthy. Instead of money pouring out to repay old debts, foreign capital is pouring into the country, so secure has Mexican credit become in the world's markets. Manufactures are building up new sources of internal revenue, and agriculture, particularly the growth of tropical products, is so admirably encouraged by the State, that agriculture alone must ensure the nation's prosperity, even should mining be destined at some future day to fail.

"These are the material results. More important still in the life of a nation, Diaz has taught the Mexicans the benefit of lasting peace, and has set before them an ideal of honest public life consistently maintained, which has made a return to the old corrupt traditions almost impossible. Diaz some day will die, but his example and his system will survive him."

A few years ago, when we chanced to be in Mexico, we took great pains to ascertain the general feeling of the people toward Diaz, and on every hand, among both poor and wealthy, all—all, without a single exception, expressed a love and admiration for the President that often strongly partook of the nature of hero-worship.

"He has made Mexico peaceful, happy and prosperous," said one very thoughtful gentleman, "and he has done it by being just and showing the people that he cared more for

Mexico and her people's good than for anything else in the world."

"There was a time," said another, "when Diaz was the object of hatred by many. Today he is more generally and more ardently loved, I think, than any other statesman or ruler in the world."

For a period of over a quarter of a century

Porfirio Diaz has steadily grown in the affection and love of his people. There is but one explanation of this. He has ever striven to be wise and just; he has placed the weal of Mexico and the happiness of her children above all other considerations; he has exalted her State and her people, and in turn they have exalted their master-statesman and perpetual President.

## BOOKS OF THE DAY.\*

*The Economy of Happiness.* By James Mackaye. Cloth. Pp. 533. Price, \$2.50 net. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

A NEW political economy, corresponding somewhat to the social consciousness and human, as well as industrial, need of our times, is one of our greatest needs, and has long been hoped for and expected. Such a political economy, however, could not be created on demand, but is necessarily a matter of growth and broad collaboration. The most recent, and certainly one of the most important, contributions to this work is a book which deals with the ethical foundations of the subject in a way that is both novel and profound. In fact the book is a revolution in philosophy and aims at one in economics. The author says:

"It is the duty, and it should be the delight, of the economists of our time to purge their science of the archaic dogmas of Adam Smith, and to found it directly upon the foundations of ethics itself—namely, utility—the only sound foundation for any applied science. In so doing they will have accomplished for economics what Copernicus accomplished for astronomy—they will have replaced the geocentric system of commercialism with the heliocentric system of utilitarianism—they will have fixed the center around which revolves the stupendous system of human effort and human interest—not in the dead world of wealth, but in the living sun of happiness."

It is probably true that neither the solid groundwork upon which utilitarianism rests,

nor the broad implications that grow out of it, are adequately comprehended by even its pronounced friends, but this at least cannot be said of the writer of this book. Here is a utilitarian philosophy that is not only thoroughly profound and consistent with itself, but that is far more than a challenge to that vapid intuitional dogmatism which, though exposed by Bentham more than a century ago, still holds the political and philosophical as well as the ecclesiastical mind in thrall.

Mr. Mackaye lays broad the foundations of his argument upon the nether springs of logic. Nothing is taken for granted. And his logic is not merely infallible, like all the systems of logic ever writ, it is scientific and philosophical logic. To once get one's mind into the grasp of it means never to escape its inexorable conclusions.

"Logic is the science of sciences. Ethics is the art of arts. The art of arts is founded upon the science of sciences. Ethics is founded upon logic." And it is worth a whole volume of intensely close, as well as equally clear, thinking to really discover and know forever that "a right act is an act of maximum utility—that act among those at any moment possible whose presumption of happiness is a maximum," and that "a wrong act is any alternative of a right act."

Happiness is the great ethical criterion. This, of course, is maximum happiness, quality, extensiveness, duration, and everything else considered. The maximum output of happiness is the end of endeavor. The only use of wealth is to augment pleasure or to diminish pain.

The great end and aim of the world, then, is happiness-production. This is the justification and explanation of the universe. Man-

\* Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

kind itself is to be judged by the happiness-production standard.

There are three factors of happiness. The first of these is sentient being, the happiness-producing agent-mankind. What kind of human beings are best adapted to convert the potentialities of happiness into happiness itself? These must have health, intelligence, etc. We must produce the best happiness-producing agent. The human stock must be improved with this in view. Of the two methods of improvement, inheritance or selection, and education or experience, the former is of greatest value to a race and the latter to an individual. The opinion that acquired characters are inheritable in individuals is entirely fallacious. President Jordan truly says that, "while it is true that the blood of a nation determines its history, it is equally true that the history of a nation determines its blood." Because acquired characters are not inheritable, the author feels himself entitled to predict concerning the negro race, for instance, that unless some other means than mere changed environment, including education, is adopted, that race will permanently remain congenitally deficient in intelligence and character. A race can be degenerated by inheritance most effectively. Its improvement is a slower process.

"The fearful mortality of the American Civil war left the Americans a poorer race; for the best of both sections were sacrificed, and for such a loss no amount of advancement in the arts and education can compensate. It means a permanent loss of efficiency in the race which peoples North America and in their posterity forever." And so inheritance is to a nation or society the most potent for good or for evil of all the determinants of happiness; while education, the most powerful method of altering the individual, is powerless as a means of altering a race. Useful education is simply a means of increasing the efficiency of individuals as agents for the conversion of potential into actual happiness.

The study of dead languages in secondary schools and as a part of the regular curriculum in colleges is severely criticised, as also is the dominance of dogma in our educational methods. Scientific and technical education should be given the greater attention because it is of greater value in the production of happiness. As theological dogma kept the ancient world in intellectual bondage, so political dogma keeps the modern world in indus-

trial bondage. Both dogma and intuitionism are cast aside. They have given us a system of morals which is both unscientific and unreasonable. Utilitarianism is the common-sense system of morals. The morals of the dogmatist are based upon history. They are habit. The dogmatist looks with horror on a bull-fight, in which a few animals are made to suffer for an hour or two, while he contemplates with complacency and resignation a system, and a preventable system, in which millions of human beings pass their lives in toil and misery and want in order that the few, in spending what the many have earned, may add novelty to their indulgence and variety to their vice. The dogmatic moralist can do this because his morals are merely a matter of custom. It is customary to condemn the bull-fight and condone the system. "This is enough for the dogmatist. The bull-fight is wrong. The preventable perpetuation of poverty is not."

Intuitionists have taught us that what we approve is right and what we disapprove is wrong, that conscience is our guide; and yet this conscience is the product of dogma and habit, conditions of life, and personal inclination. With such a foundation of ethics, it is little wonder that industrial and civic immorality and even personal vice go hand in hand with religion, civilization and culture. Let us not make conscience our guide to right and wrong. Let us make right and wrong our guide to conscience. We shall find among right acts some of which we disapprove and among wrong acts some of which we approve. Their rightness and wrongness are fixed entirely independent of our intuitional processes or the ethical traditions of the community in which we live. "Such gains as have been made in morals since the Reformation, and they have by no means been inconsiderable, have been due to the steady encroachment of the utilitarian or common-sense code of morals upon the dogmatic; as is evidenced by the fact that whenever men point to the moral advances which have taken place since the Dark Ages, they always point to the advancement of those agencies whose tendency is to increase the happiness and decrease the unhappiness of the world. Were happiness not the end of morality such advancement, of course, would be no evidence of morality."

"The old method has given us the politics of commerce—the new one will give us the politics of utility."

"The educative effect of a clear comprehension of the dilemma of intuitionism is greater and more broadening than that of a college education, since at one stroke it abolishes preteromania, pathomania, and much of logomania. The mind which once *masters* it is emancipated."

The second factor of happiness is the adaptation of a man to his environment. The voluntary acts of a man with reference to his environment, so far as they are useful, are consumptive or productive. Consumptive acts are positive when they are designed to result in a surplus of happiness and negative when they result in a surplus of unhappiness. Productive acts are pleasant or unpleasant according to their immediate effect. Happiness is the immediate purpose in consumption and the indirect or ultimate purpose in production. There can be a surplus of happiness in an individual only when he is engaged in positive consumption or pleasant production. The realm of pleasant production is comparatively small. Labor is unpleasant. The function of production produces a great balance of unhappiness. "No one who clearly understands the difference between right and wrong can indorse the morality of those who make of toil a fetish and deem it an end in itself."

The law of fatigue is expressed graphically in mathematical diagrams representing duration and intensity of labor. The surplus of pain involved in labor makes labor literally immoral. The only thing which makes productive labor a duty is the moral demand in the happiness involved in consumption. Production is moral only because it leads to consumption. A purely productive existence cannot be justified because it involves an output of more pain than pleasure. Unless the intensity of consumption is considerable, it is impossible in a world in which men devote the majority of their waking hours to production, to make their lives worth while. As happiness is the end of existence and as the immediate purpose of consumptive acts is to produce happiness, the adjustment and regulation of consumption so that it shall result in the highest and greatest possible happiness becomes a question of supreme importance.

Consumption may be monotonous—produce satiation. It is not pleasure that palls, but the consumptive act that fails after a while to reproduce the pleasure. Even in positive consumption—that which is designed

to produce a surplus of happiness—the law of fatigue soon operates, and the high points in happiness-production are not easily or long maintained. There is infinite variation in consumptive efficiency and also in consumptive capacity. \$10 may be said to have a certain amount of happiness-producing potentiality, but given to a man who has been living on \$50 a year, it will unquestionably produce a greater amount of happiness than when spent by the man whose expenses run up into the tens of thousands. Even a second \$10 will give less happiness than the first to the \$50 man.

Our industrial world has gone production-mad. Its passion is to *make* things and too little thought is given as to the *use* of the things that are made. The function of consumption needs closer attention. The goal to be aimed at is the attainment of a maximum standard of consumption-efficiency at a minimum expense in labor cost. And the equation is a social, not an individual one. Justice requires some sort of equality in the distribution of happiness, and nature, with its law of fatigue and its law of diminishing returns of happiness, seeks to support this demand of justice. The consumption of \$1,000,000 worth of wealth in a year will produce more happiness if it be distributed among 100 persons than if it be all consumed by one person. But the consumption of \$1,000,000 worth of wealth in one year distributed among 10,000 persons would force the whole community into the zone of under-consumption, and since the output of such a community would be negative—misery instead of happiness—it would be worse than no community at all.

This brings us to the third factor of happiness which is the number of sentient beings in relation to their environment and capacity for happiness.

In the application of this utilitarian philosophy which he terms the "technology of happiness" (and no one will question its technical quality) to the affairs of life, we are brought rapidly and with syllogistic exactness, to some very startling if not revolutionary conclusions.

Competition is seen at once to be unutilitarian, and the competitive system of industry both unscientific and immoral, violating the principles of common-sense and producing more misery than happiness. Our entire competitive civilization comes under this indictment, and if the indictment holds, the



social and economic world must be a failure. A test is proposed. The United States is the best product of the capitalistic system. New York City is the best product of the system in the United States. Now, is New York City producing more happiness or unhappiness? The reader is invited to apply two tests to this inquiry.

"First, I invite him in imagination to walk the streets and visit the inhabitants of the great metropolis by day and by night, and carefully to note the evidences of pleasure and pain with an impartial eye. Let him visit the houses of the rich, the well-to-do, and the middle classes, and observe their habits and their means of happiness. Are they ever unhappy—if so, how many hours a day and what is the intensity of their unhappiness—he may be sure that during their hours of production they are, on the average, not happy, though the intensity of pain during those hours may be but slight—and certainly half of their waking life is spent in production. Are they ever happy—if so, it is generally during the hours of consumption, while eating, attending entertainments, driving, reading, playing some game, or sitting quietly at home with family or friends. How many hours a day are they doing these things, and what is the average intensity during these hours? Is it one, three, six, ten hedons—it must be of *some* average intensity—we cannot determine what, but let the reader estimate from his own experience. Let him repeat these observations among the much greater multitude who live by the labor of their hands, ranging from the moderately poor to the destitute—what is their average duration of consumption, and what the intensity thereof? Let him go through the magnificent palace of the millionaire, but let him also visit the squalid tenement of the victim of poverty, outnumbering the first, five hundred to one. Let him not ignore the happiness to be found in the homes of the well-to-do, the healthy, the morally wholesome—but neither let him ignore the unhappiness to be found in the tenement houses, the hospitals, the alms-houses, the gutters, the jails, and the dives. Taking a bird's-eye-view of these things, let him candidly ask himself this question: Would you, or would you not, be willing to experience all the pain felt in New York in a year, for all the pleasure felt there in the same time? This is but inquiring whether the totality of life in

New York is self-supporting. An affirmative answer means that the total product of the city is, at least, better than nothing. A negative answer means that it is worse than nothing. How many men who knew that they would be taken literally at their word, would dare to answer in the affirmative?

"A second test is suggestible which may perhaps be more readily put into practice than this one. If, as we have contended, the test of equivalence of pleasure and pain is preference, as determined by memory rather than anticipation, then the test of whether a given period has resulted in a surplus of pain or pleasure to an individual is best ascertained by determining whether that individual would prefer living over again that period, or one containing exactly the same quantities of pleasure and pain, to not living it over again. Let this test be applied to the average citizen of New York for an average day or an average year—not to an exceptional citizen for an exceptional day or an exceptional year. The average man in New York is a laborer; he can avail himself of no more, and generally of less, labor than that which he himself supplies. The average woman in New York is a laborer also, though not necessarily a wage laborer. Let inquiry be made of the average adult dweller in New York at the close of an average day whether he or she is glad or sorry that the day is done—whether he or she would prefer living it over again to not living it over again, just as it was. Can there be any doubt of the result of such inquiry?"

From such premises the conclusion is "that the City of New York, the crowning achievement of the modern competitive system in the western world, yields a less output of happiness per acre per day or year than when Hendrick Hudson discovered its site—that it was more useful as an undiscovered wilderness than it is to-day, and contributed more to that output which it is the only useful object of society to produce—happiness. What then shall we think of all the lucubration about prosperity and national greatness so frequently heard? What relation, if any, have these things to utility? It would seem to be the height of presumption for any nation, or any representative of a nation, to boast of its success when universal annihilation would result in still greater success—at least a greater success in the production of anything which it is worth while to produce."

As natural competition is a failure, so also are the efforts to induce artificial competition or to regulate it. When the stage of pseudo-socialism is reached our author finds it but a vain attempt to patch up the system of capitalism; still he accepts the movement toward government-ownership as a step in industrial evolution and preferable to private monopoly.

His democracy is radical and consistent. There are no real democracies in existence. But there are means and devices already developed making democracy possible.

"Among the most important of them are the *initiative* and *referendum*, constituting means whereby an approximation to direct legislation may be secured. These devices are, in reality, extensions of the town-meeting principle, whereby the people vote directly for measures, instead of for men, and thus legislate for themselves instead of trusting to the readily deranged and corrupted representative system. The details of the initiative and referendum I shall not discuss here—they are capable of much variation and have stood the test of long trial—notably in Switzerland. Every democracy should adopt them as the most efficient means yet proposed of preventing lapse into oligarchy. The referendum has been occasionally employed in this country by states and municipalities, and it is one of the means prescribed in the Federal Constitution for securing amendments to that instrument. No evils have thus far developed in its employment. The fact that in many instances of the use of the referendum a majority of the voters have not troubled themselves to record their preferences has often been cited as a reason why the opportunity to record them should be denied the people altogether. Such a criticism is shallow. Because a majority does not care to express its preferences on some matter in which it is not interested affords no reason for believing that it does not care to express them on matters in which it *is* interested. Whenever the measures on which the people are called upon to directly decide have an essential relation to their happiness they will take sufficient interest to vote upon them, and the state in which the opportunity to do so is denied them has but an inferior claim to the name of a democracy. As a supplement to direct-legislation, an indirect system is essential in all large communities, but as the sole means of transcribing the will of the people into law it

is imperfect and unsafe. The present party system in the United States, for example, is but a bungling affair, and self-seekers have not usually encountered much difficulty in using it to defeat the people's will. Despite its defects, the democratic theory is the only reasonable one thus far proposed, since no other creates even a moderate presumption that the control of the conduct of society will be in the interests of Justice."

It is only in socialism, however, that democracy can ever find its realization. "Pseudo-socialism has all the disadvantages of socialism, and most of those of competition, without the advantage of socialism in promoting the efficiency of consumption, nor that of competition in promoting the efficiency of production." The promotion of efficiency in consumption is the great need of the world. We have gone production-mad. We must learn how to consume. At present we waste. Socialism is the way to make consumption most effective—to produce happiness in the world.

But our author has examined his socialism very carefully and pruned it somewhat. What he offers us is "a modification of socialism which will presumably combine all the advantages of public monopoly with the single advantage of competition" (efficiency of production). This system which he proposes he calls "Pantocracy." It is expounded in eight sections as follows:

- "1. Public ownership of the means of production. Retention of the wage system and abolition of profit.
- "2. Organization of a system of distribution, whereby supply of, and demand for, products may be adjusted.
- "3. Organization of a national labor exchange, whereby supply of, and demand for, labor may be adjusted.
- "4. Organization of an inspection system, whereby the quality of products may be maintained at a definite standard.
- "5. Application of labor to production.
- "6. Organization of invention.
- "7. Old-age insurance.
- "8. Reform of education."

These propositions are discussed in detail and then the author applies the tests of his utilitarian philosophy to them. The competitive system, of course, can stand no such test, but "pantocracy" can. It would im-

prove the quality of the "happiness-producing agent"; it would permit more happiness in work, it would conserve natural resources; it would promote the use of machinery in the arts; it would solve the labor problem; it would provide substantial equality in the distribution of wealth; it would increase leisure and wages at the same time; it would restrict both the propagation of the race and the death-rate and produce a better numerical adjustment of the population to its surroundings. It would thus fulfil all the main conditions of happiness-producing efficiency.

Any restricted attempt to summarize Mr. Mackaye's argument cannot but fail to do it justice. He lays a deeper and safer foundation for his socialism than Marx laid, and he undermines most thoroughly the system of ethics upon which the political and economic dogmas of competition and *laissez faire* have been based. Many of his most sympathetic readers, I imagine, will be unable to agree with his conclusions as to the inefficacy and futility of what he calls pseudo-socialism, or the inevitableness of full-fledged socialism, but these conclusions are not so important nor so secure as the premises, or at least the main premises, from which they are drawn. While the suggestions made as to the *modus operandi* of installing the new social system have their interest and value and may be nearer to the realm of actual probabilities than anything of the kind in Bellamy or Marx, they may still be easily forgotten by many a reader upon whom the book itself makes an indelible impression.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

*Industrial America.* By J. Laurence Laughlin, Ph.D., Professor and Head of the Department of Political Economy in the University of Chicago. Cloth. Price, \$1.25 net. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

THE SCOPE of this volume is well indicated by the six subjects treated, namely: "American Competition With Europe," "Protectionism and Reciprocity," "The Labor Problem," "The Railway Question," "The Banking Problem," and "The Present Status of Economic Thinking in the United States."

On all such topics the head of a department of the great Chicago University is supposed to speak with authority, and he has given us much of value. For example there are maps

showing the different railway systems, and diagrams showing the liabilities of banks and the relative amount of different kinds of money in circulation in the United States. In this way important knowledge is conveyed at a glance.

The book also contains some strong statements concerning the political situation. In discussing protectionism the author takes the most radical position, and shows up the baneful political effects of the ultra-protection policy. In fact he admits the "treason of the Senate" and states it in strong general terms as forcibly as David Graham Phillips himself. He says:

"As a lover of my country, it is a painful duty to explain the operation of some forces now at work in our political life; and only because, as a scientific student, I am expected to make a truthful report, could I be obliged to mention them here.

"Never has the upper house of Congress been held so cheaply by the citizen as it is to-day. The traditional and honorable title of senator now covers the mountebank, the unscrupulous lumber or mining king, or the successful manipulator of State legislators through the use of corporation interests within the States. The demagogue who burns red lights before the masses to cheat them into the idea that he is a tribune of the people, and who is thereby voted into the Senate, is a clean person compared to the man who takes his seat in that august body knowing that he would not be there were he not willing to vote and act—not as the representative of all the people, but—as the attorney for large private interests. There are senators, it is true, of eloquence, ability, astute statesmanship, commanding learning in the law, and high personal integrity; but it is also true at this very hour that a bill touching the interests of the sugar-trust, or of many another great interest protected by the tariff, could not possibly pass the Senate. This is an unmistakable consequence of embarking on a policy by which industries are directly affected in their profit and loss by legislation. The concerns of the State as a whole become thus inextricably entangled with the pecuniary gains of special interests or of private persons. This situation would be black indeed if it were supposed that all who vote in favor of special interests do so because they are personally corrupt. This is not true. Very many

senators, no doubt, vote according to the declared policy of their party, whether it is right or wrong; and others may honestly believe that protectionism or favors to the 'trusts' are of advantage to the country.

"This explanation gives us the clew as to the reason why enormous sums of money are spent in our political campaigns. The American electorate is not more venal than that of other countries—such, for example, as that of England; but a system under which the rise or fall of great industries depends upon a vote of Congress, puts an enormous premium on the corrupt use of money in elections. When industries owe their existence, not to exceptional skill, situation, climate, or natural resources, but to a slender majority in a vote of Congress, the industrial situation must always be highly artificial and unstable. The questionable morals by which such an artificial situation is perpetuated from decade to decade cannot but leave its baleful influence on our politics and on the character of many of our public men. But mark this: it could not in reason be otherwise when, in every national election—or in any election of State legislators—the prizes at stake are not merely the spoils of office (which, Heaven knows, are bad enough!), but the multitudinous interests of billions of invested capital. It may be that the material gains to industry from the protective system are so great and so highly valued that they vastly overbalance the moral degradation of our political life; but, if so, we ought to know the price we are paying, and fully realize it.

"So acute a politician as Mr. Chamberlain in England, has taken a leaf out of the experience of the United States. Once establish protective duties, even at a low level—no matter on what grounds, imperial or local—and heavy campaign funds will inevitably be drawn to support the candidates of the party pledged to maintain the new duties. A new motive is introduced; it is not whether you approve this or that foreign policy, this or that position on the army, this or that educational scheme—but whether your personal pecuniary interests will be secured by the election of a certain man. There comes in the damaging confusion between political principles and self-interest—which is the very essence of bribery. As a consequence there arises a kind of candidate for office, not because he has convictions on public questions, but because he is expected to vote for iron, or

for ale. There are thus created conditions which lower both the moral tone of the electors and the character of the public officials. What is the end in view? A group of party managers, once in power, can command unlimited money and active support in every test of power on the hustings; and as time goes on it can practically intrench itself in office behind the self-interest of industrial establishments. With the example of America before her, it is inconceivable that Great Britain should be willing to exchange the present high level of morals among her members of Parliament for a class of men who place private interests above the true life of the state.

"The leaders of protectionism are in the Senate, and control that body. Thereby they are able to make their policy a continuing one, without any interruptions due to the election of a hostile majority in the lower house, or to a change in the Executive. Moreover, the control of the press by *force majeure* is an instrument of great influence with the public. An extended chain of newspapers supports all the policies of the Republican Party; and for the furtherance of these policies, the party leaders easily determine not only what should be said loudly, but also what should not be said. In fact, these men are astute in purveying to the press-agents, either a tentative scheme with which to sound the public, or the constant iteration of a necessary idea—such as that protection protects the workman, or a careful suppression of discussion on a critical question."

These words were spoken to the students of a German university, for the book is made up of lectures given in Europe, and express the deliberate convictions, painfully uttered, of the man who holds a very high position in the field of political science. What more can be said to convince the American people that "times are ripe and rotten ripe for change," in the upper house of Congress and also in the System that creates and fosters the villainous condition of things?

But while we believe Professor Laughlin has not over-stated the facts concerning the Senate, we wonder at his inability to reason consistently when he attempts to discuss some other important problems. We note again that, according to Laughlin, the kind of men who go to Congress is determined by financial interests. "As a consequence," he says, "there arises a kind of candidate for office,



not because he has convictions on public questions, but because he is expected to vote for iron or for ale. There are thus created conditions that lower both the moral tone of the electors, and the character of the public officials."

Truer words than these were never uttered, but when he comes to discuss municipal-ownership the learned professor is incapable of applying the same course of reasoning. In an attempt to explain American Socialism he utters the following crudities:

"Apart from the common desire to abolish private property, and the general acceptance of some form of organization, it would be difficult to describe the tenets of American Socialism. They vary with the conditions of business, with the personal influence of some leader, and with geographical situation. The panacea of Socialism is urged as a means of escape from the ills of society. Poverty, lack of employment, and the lack of opportunity are charged upon the existing forms of society, rather than upon the usual characteristics of human nature. Since crime is in the main an offense against property, since the desire to obtain property is the cause of unprincipled treatment of others, and since the possession of wealth gives enormous power which is sure to be abused, the Socialist holds that the abolition of property would remove the main incentive to wrongdoing which now degrades society.

"More recently this doctrine has lain behind the movement for municipal ownership of various public, or quasi-public, utilities. It is in essence an attempt to fly from ills we know to those we know not. The abuses in methods of granting franchises for gas, street railways, and the like, are not denied; but it is denied that municipalities, which have proved themselves unfit to protect the public in making deals with private companies, are likely to be fit to carry on a large business corporation successfully. Until the spoils of office are eliminated from municipal politics, as they are in Germany—and as sometime they will be in America—it is folly to propose municipal ownership. To settle the question fairly, the results of municipal ownership under honest and competent guidance should be compared only with the results of private management under an intelligent and honest city government."

Why cannot this Chicago University pro-

fessor see that the same influences that corrupt the United States Senate, corrupt also the city government, so that an honest city government is a practical impossibility under the present System? Why should an honest Senate, requiring only two men from a state, be practically impossible because of a protective tariff, and a city board of aldermen with equally sinister influences at work, not be impossible also?

The reader will also note that this learned, conscientious and scientific professor, who is so pained to expose the Senate, and does it simply as a scientific duty, speaks of a common desire on the part of socialists "to abolish private property." This expression occurs several times. It is used first in the following connection:

"While each individual has a more or less developed code of ethics, sufficient unto himself, sometimes there arises a cult whose beliefs, while differing widely in themselves, have some common basis of agreement. A loose union of ethical, political, and economic tenets, more or less vaguely reasoned out, but animated by a common feeling of discontent with the existing economic conditions, seems to lie behind the thinking of the American Socialists. Their point of contact with scientific economics is not easy to define. Socialism with us is not necessarily opposed to individualism; in fact, extreme individualism is the mother of Anarchism, and Anarchists are very often only embryo Socialists. As a rule, our Socialists retain a belief in some organization of society, thereby differing from the Anarchists; but the common socialistic tenet is the abolition of private property."

As a majority of the learned professors of political economy have a set of hair-splitting definitions of their own, we do not know in what sense Mr. Laughlin intends to use the word *property*, but in the common sense used by socialists known to the reviewer, the aim is not to abolish private *property*, at all, but private *capital*, and that only so far as said capital is used to develop monopoly. Is Professor Laughlin a blunderer, or is he artfully trying to prejudice the public against a doctrine as truly scientific as anything likely to emanate from the Rockefeller University?

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

*Advanced Civics.* By S. E. Forman, Ph.D.

Cloth. Pp. 441. New York: The Century Company.

THIS book is a timely and valuable contribution to the educational literature of the day. In the contest sure to be upon us, between the forces of privilege and reaction on the one side and of progress and democracy on the other, the imparting of sound notions of the origin and the nature of our institutions, the diffusing of correct information as to the functions of government, national, state and local, and the inculcation of a just sense of the benefits and obligations of citizenship, present a task of the highest importance. A work, such as Dr. Forman has given us, which will make easy the instruction of intelligent youth and which can be very profitably studied by the average adult is, therefore, to be welcomed as one of the forces which are conspiring to bring about a better civic life. The demand implied in the production of the book is a hopeful sign.

The book is divided into three parts dealing respectively with the principles which underlie our governmental system, the origin and nature of the governmental machine and the practical working of that machine with some of the practical problems connected with that work. The arrangement of chapters and their subdivision are such that it is well adapted to use as a text-book in high schools and the higher institutions of learning. In fact, the author states that the plan adopted is the outgrowth of classroom experience. The subjects are, as becomes a work of this character, treated concisely, yet not obscurely. Each paragraph embraces matter which could without prolixity, be lengthened to a chapter, and each chapter could be extended to an essay, and yet one who will thoughtfully read the text just as it is, will obtain what might, perhaps, be called a bird's-eye view of constitutional government. It does not detract from the merits of the work if one feels that one can detect a few inaccuracies of statement or errors in conclusion. Upon the whole, the views expressed are "safe and sane," and fair and just as well.

The average citizen of mature years, would be much enlightened as to the nature of our state and national constitutions and the relations between them, by a perusal of this work. Much that is vague in his ideas as to the relative powers of the dual governments under which he lives would be clarified. In treat-

ing of the "spirit of federal expansion," the author says: "The federal government has not gone forth as a conqueror to bring states into the Union by force" and that "Expansion has always meant an extension of popular and constitutional government and an increased enjoyment of civil liberty." In a qualified sense this is true, but to accept it as literally exact one must first forget certain facts of the last decade, and must ignore certain "dependencies" now.

In treating of political parties Dr. Forman says the "Republican party is descended from the Federalists, and is the party of loose construction." That the Republican party under its present leadership is inclined to a free-and-easy interpretation of the Federal Constitution may well be conceded, but that it was in the beginning a descendant of the old Federalist party, Mr. Lincoln would have stoutly denied, as would multitudes of "Jeffersonian Democrats" like Trumbull, Hamlin and Chase, who shared in its creation. The author pronounces a healthy doctrine, however, when he declares that when party loyalty leads a man into voting for dangerous measures and for dishonest men "he is not a free citizen but is the victim of a despotism." It is this willing submission to this "despotism" that makes possible that degree of corruption in our cities in which consists the chief menace to our institutions. It is on this self-imposed "despotism" that the "boss" counts, and on the almost certainty of its continued force he bases his plans.

The chapter on "Civil Liberty" condenses much mighty history into trifling space. In referring to the guarantees of the Federal Constitution the author briefly but clearly points out what a surprisingly large number of intelligent people fail to comprehend, that it is to our State and not to our National Constitution that we must look for the chief safeguarding of our personal liberty. The rights declared in the first eight amendments to the Federal Constitution, do not, the author makes clear, belong to the American citizen unless his State Constitution likewise guarantees them to him. "The Federal Government cannot deprive a citizen of any of these rights, but the state can. For example, Congress cannot abridge the freedom of speech, but a state legislature can do so if the State Constitution does not forbid. The federal government cannot guarantee the rights which the Constitution forbids it to infringe. It is

to the State Constitution that we must look for most of the positive guarantees of our civil liberty." At a time when the National government is being looked to for aid in so many directions it is well that the dignity and importance of the states in our governmental order be held boldly before the public eye. The author well observes: "The Constitutions, however, do not create civil liberty. Liberty is not an artificial creation of a convention. It is a divine gift bestowed only upon those who make themselves worthy of it. . . . All the Constitution can do is to give liberty a voice."

In the discussion of the powers of the President, the author, unfortunately (and, no doubt, unwittingly) falls into what appears to be a recognition as legitimate exercise of power, what can, in the nature of things, be only executive bribery of the people's representatives. He states, concerning the President, that "through his influence as a party leader and as a distributor of patronage, he can often cause Congress to follow the suggestions contained in his messages." It is hard to see the moral distinction between a President as "a distributor of patronage" for the votes of Congressmen and the state or municipal "boss" as "a distributor of jobs" or other desirable things, for votes of legislators or councilmen. A severe blow at the moral integrity of the nation will have been struck when the people come to regard as a proper exercise of executive power the bestowal of patronage by the President to secure votes of representatives for his pet measures, however wise and beneficial they may be.

One inaccuracy to be noted, lest the student be misled, is the statement that the governor of a state "fills vacancies occurring among the state's representatives in Congress." Another error of statement is under the head of the judiciary where the author says that if the case before the court is novel, and there is no law, "either customary or written, which will fit the case, the judge may nevertheless render a decision," and that thus grow up "case laws" as distinguished from legislative enactments. It is true that courts sometimes do act as the author suggests, but such action is always a usurpation known as "judicial legislation." If it were permissible under our system the judiciary would not be a coordinate branch of the government, but would be a legislative power with no constitutional restraint. The author doubtless

was led into this obvious fallacy by a misapprehension of the term "case law." The sole function of the court in a given case is to interpret the statute, if any, or if not, to apply the "customary" or common law as it finds it, to the case in hand.

The importance of local government is wisely emphasized and the habit of so many citizens of attaching importance to the affairs of the state and nation while overlooking small local politics is well described as "one of the most dangerous errors of citizenship." The questions of taxation and public debts are treated in an intelligent manner. The importance, locally, of these matters is shown by the fact that "the combined municipal debt in our country is three times as large as the combined debts of the states."

An interesting chapter is devoted to the consideration of money, but when the statement is made that "the paper-money issued by the colonies invariably depreciated in value," there should be correction in the interest of historical truth and in justice to the memory of the early rulers of Pennsylvania, which colony had the honorable distinction of having managed the issue of its paper currency so conservatively and honestly that it never fell below par.

Transportation is recognized as the most important factor in domestic commerce, and it is stated that this transportation begins, for the most part, upon a "common highway," but the author might with advantage at this time have pointed out the fact that the railroads, of which he treats, are in their relations to that commerce but the continuation of common highways.

The labor problem is treated sympathetically, and the proper aims and ambitions of labor organizations are fully set forth, but the ugly fact is faced that the labor organization may raise for the government the identical problem presented by the so-called "trusts," viz., how to maintain the right of men to unite for their common benefit, and at the same time preserve the rights of the individual. "There is no freedom if any organization outside of Government itself can go to the individual and enforce its rules upon him: Government, and Government only, can coerce an American citizen."

An appendix containing the Constitution of the United States, the Ordinance of 1787, the early Connecticut Charter, suggested provisions for home-rule of cities and laws for

the prevention of bribery, with an index, makes a fitting ending of the book.

The book is admirable in conception and treatment and its tone is highly patriotic. Its inaccuracies are few, its excellencies many. If the civic lessons it teaches could become a part of the character of our citizens, the result would be a national transformation.

LINTON SATTERTHWAIT.

*The Spirit of Democracy.* By Charles F. Dole. Cloth. Pp. 435. Price, \$1.25 net. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

THIS book is an important contribution to the rapidly growing literature of democratic progress. It is very judicial in spirit and for the most part broad-visioned, just and true to the spirit of democracy. Occasionally the author disappoints us by a partial and very inadequate presentation of an important question. This is well illustrated in his treatment of the subject of Majority-Rule. Here we naturally expected to find a cogent exposition of legislation by which the will of the majority would be expressed, in contrast to the present legislation by bosses and party machines for the interests of the privileged few. At the present time when the words Majority-Rule are employed one naturally thinks of Direct-Legislation through the Initiative and Referendum, which has been so successfully introduced in Switzerland, Oregon and elsewhere; but the chapter deals with the peril of Majority-Rule, by citing cases of religious intolerance and racial discrimination. Such exhibitions we think Mr. Dole would admit are very rare and would not stand before a systematic appeal to the sense of right addressed to all the people, provided the fundamental demands of democracy—a free press and free speech—were guarded; for nothing is clearer than that the heart of the people is just and sound. It may yield temporarily to appeals of prejudice, but it is astonishing how prejudice gives way in the public mind before well-considered and wisely carried forward campaigns of education in which the appeal is made directly to reason and the sense of right. On the other hand, the practical defeat of the fundamental principles of free government by the present reactionary and corporation-ruled party politics is imposing heavy burdens on the people while systematically undermining and seeking to destroy the ideals and vital principles of the

Declaration of Independence. Such superficial handling of important questions as is found in the chapter on Majority-Rule is extremely unfortunate in a time like the present and in a work which on the whole is so admirable as is this volume. As a rule, however, the author is conspicuously broad and judicial. This is very marked in his chapter on "Anarchy and Socialism," a discussion that deserves to be widely read, especially by newspaper men who so systematically misrepresent and confuse these great opposing political philosophies.

The work is divided into thirty-two chapters, in which the following subjects are treated: "The Teaching of History," "New Ideas in Politics," "Democracy as a Social Force," "Good Will: A Motive Principle," "Idealism and the Facts," "Democracy and Sovereignty: New Meanings," "What is Government?" "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," "The Extension of Democracy," "Practical Problems: The Suffrage," "The Laws: The Legitimate Use of Force," "The Treatment of Crime," "The Problem of Pauperism," "Majority-Rule," "Representative Government," "Democracy and the Executive," "The Party System," "The Rule of the Cities," "The Problem of War," "Democracy and Imperialism," "The Monroe Doctrine and the Golden Rule," "The United States as a World Power," "Popular Taxation," "Democratic Forms of Taxation," "Local Democracy," "The New Immigration," "The Labor Unions," "Democracy and the Family," "The Education for a Democracy," "Anarchy and Socialism," "The Religion in Democracy," and "The Prospects of Democracy."

Though the book is full of suggestive and helpful thoughts and on the whole is a valuable contribution to social progress, it is far inferior, we think, to Mr. Henry George's latest work, *The Menace of Privilege*, in which democracy is treated in a far more fundamental and able manner.

*The Confessions of a Monopolist.* By Fred-eric C. Howe, Ph.D. Cloth. Pp. 170. Price, \$1.00 net, postage 8 cents. Chicago: The Public Publishing Company.

THIS story of the life of a typical modern monopolist is written in the form of an autobiography. It is a frank confession that might be made by any one of a score or more of American politico-commercial magnates.



It is written in so simple, frank and entertaining a manner that it will instantly arrest the reader's attention and hold his interest to the end; and all the while it will be revealing to him the secrets that have so puzzled the honest-minded and slow-thinking millions, as to how some men suddenly acquire great wealth, how in business and in politics certain ones march forward with uninterrupted tread doubling wealth at every turn and augmenting political power at every step.

Never before has a work appeared in which the methods of the high financiers and political bosses have been more clearly exposed. Here the reader is made to see how certain feats that appear from before the footlights as little short of miraculous are performed. Here he sees how by learning the rules of the game a modern high financier is able to divert the wealth of thousands into the till of the crafty monopolists; how, in short, the thousands are made to labor for the few just as actually as in the days of the feudal lords the serfs slaved for the barons. And here he sees how politics are made the handmaid of the modern plutocracy in its attempt to enslave labor while destroying the soul of democracy.

While the author is very explicit in explaining that he does not write of any single monopolist, no reader can, we think, escape the conclusion that the life and deeds of the late Senator Hanna formed very much of the material that enters into the web and woof of the *Confessions*. Nor is this strange. Mr. Howe is one of the strongest, ablest and clearest-visioned among the younger statesmen of Ohio. He has long lived in Cleveland and was necessarily perfectly cognizant of Mr. Hanna's life. Moreover, the late United States Senator was a thoroughly typical character. He was the modern politico-commercial magnate *par excellence* and admirably represented the present-day plutocracy; while his onward march illustrates in a startling manner how the feudalism of privilege is destroying democratic government in the interests of predatory wealth. This book is perhaps the most compelling picture of the life-and-death struggle now in progress between plutocracy and democracy that has been written in recent years.

Beginning with early boyhood, the hero explains how through a special privilege he obtained a monopoly of the newspaper trade of his town; how through this he soon found that he could set others to work while he lived

off the earnings of his poorly-paid dependents. Next he enters college, where he further develops ways and means for enjoying life at the expense of others' toil and gains an income by securing monopoly rights. He enters the practice of law, but from that he finds short cuts to affluence and power. In politics he discovers great possibilities for personal enrichment. Gold mines, as it were, await him under his feet. Politics becomes his business and a city is the first object of his cupidity, and he describes the methods by which a mayor is dethroned and a franchise obtained. Next he reaches out for greater things. Coal and iron mines and railways come under his power. Flushed with victory he enters Wall street, to his sorrow; but after he has learned his lesson and discovered the secrets of the confidence game being carried forward on so colossal a scale in Wall street, he returns to this great American gambling-hell to aid in robbing the dupes. He becomes a state boss and has himself elected to the United States Senate.

At every step the reader is shown exactly how the great fortunes of the age are acquired in America. He is taken behind the scenes where he becomes a spectator of the most amazing and extensive exhibition of moral turpitude known to civilization. Here he sees the men who pose as the representatives of the great business interests of America—as the "safe and sane" leaders of the business world—prating in print and in public about national honor and purity in government, while they control representatives in general and own bosses in particular and through their hired attorneys of the lobby are ceaselessly at work filching from the people their rights, exploiting the millions for the privileged few, and securing class legislation and special laws that will protect the favored and rapacious ones in their efforts to amass millions of wealth earned by others or which is the gift of the great Mother to society or to all her children.

*The Confessions of a Monopolist* holds the mirror up before political and business conditions as they actually exist and reveals the picture so clearly and convincingly that the slowest-thinking patriot cannot fail to see and feel the truth of the portrayal. It is romance that is truer than history, for history concerns itself with the doings of certain units. Here is a composite or typical picture that embodies the dominant political influence of the hour. It is far and away the finest political satire on

present-day American politics,—a book that every thinking patriotic citizen should read.

*Ring in the New.* By Richard Whiteing. Cloth. Pp. 348. Price \$1.50. New York: The Century Company.

THIS is the most important romance of recent months dealing with social progress. It is another strong, vital message from the awakened conscience of the nobler manhood of our time and addressed to the great multitude of Anglo-Saxons who are beginning to awaken from the soul-destroying lethargy into which greed, selfishness and self-absorption have thrown them.

To us nothing is more astounding than the persistent blindness of the great daily press to the trend and sweep of social forces at the present time. The democratic epoch that sounded the marching orders for civilized government in America over a century and a quarter ago, when the embattled farmers at Concord fired the shot heard around the world, promulgated certain great basic truths that implied radical changes in the social and political organisms, and until they are realized the mission of democracy will not be fulfilled. Equality of opportunities and of rights, liberty, justice and fraternity,—these things demand social and political adjustments that are the essentials of a truly democratic state. They render necessary a new realization and recognition on the part of the state or the public consciousness—the recognition of the solidarity of life, and they call for the translation of the Golden Rule into the organic life of society. And it is interesting indeed to note how the literature of protest and progress, the message of social advance and civic righteousness, has steadily sounded with increasing clearness the ideal of solidarity or social unity since the dawn of the democratic era. Victor Hugo, Giuseppe Mazzini, Charles Kingsley and Frederick D. Maurice in the meridian period of the last century gave the marching orders for civilization, under the banner of democracy—marching orders which Massey well epitomized in the words: "Humanity is one. The Eternal intends to show us that humanity is one. And the family is more than the individual member, the Nation is more than the family, and the human race is more than the nation. And if we do not accept the revelation lovingly, do not take to the fact kindly, why then 't is flashed upon us

terribly, by lightning of hell, if we will not have it by light of heaven."

Edward Bellamy, William Morris, Alfred Russel Wallace and scores of other representatives of the new conscience among our leading writers have voiced the same message in story, song and essay; and in his new novel, *Ring in the New*, the scholarly author Richard Whiteing has made an important contribution to the cause of social progress.

In this romance, Prudence Meryon, a young orphan girl, unskilled in any practical trade or work and wholly ignorant of the ways of the great Christian world of our day, suddenly finds herself thrown into the seething, struggling sea of human bread-winners in London. She must work or starve. But how can she obtain work without any skill in any direction? The struggle of this fine-natured, pure-minded English girl in the various works she essays; how she schools herself in shorthand at night while working in a show-window during the day for a pittance barely sufficient to prevent her from starving; how she steadily passes down the dark stairway which leads to despair; how the gospel of hope, a message from the New World, becomes a rainbow arch spanning the slough of despond; how the protecting hand of a high-minded worker in the under-world of London life, who is also the editor of a Socialist paper, is stretched out to her at a moment of extreme peril; how, unknown to the girl, the same man secures her a position with steady work; how other girls all around Prudence are struggling, each living her little narrow life as best she may and striving to get a little sunshine, a little happiness, out of the fleeting hours, while all the time there floats before her during waking hours the awful specter of a portentous future in which, shelterless and companioned by starvation, the unfortunate may find herself one of the mighty army of London's flotsam and jetsam,—these things—all these things—the author pictures with a vividness and power that cannot fail to take hold of the heart-strings of those who are not spiritually dead. And with equal power, yet with no offensive preaching or moralizing, he makes the reader see and feel that the great moral crime, the sin of our civilization,—of, indeed, everyone in Christendom,—is the attempt to detach one's self from the great body of life, the attempt to close the eyes to the fact that no one lives unto himself, that we can rise only as we lift others. The spirit of this book embodies

the spirit of the life and ethical teachings of Jesus. The moral responsibility of each one to help all, the oneness of life, and the duties that this great law imposes are luminously emphasized.

The author is a finished writer, a scholar skilful with the use of words and endowed with the imaginative power that enables him to place himself in the position of the multitudinous struggling bread-winners whose cause he is pleading. The recent Socialist and Labor triumph in England is taken by the author to mean the dawn of a new day—a day that shall usher in a juster government and a truer civilization than this old world has yet enjoyed.

This is a work that we can heartily recommend to all lovers of human progress and social advance.

*In the Days of the Comet.* By H. G. Wells. Cloth. Pp. 378. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Century Company.

*In the Days of the Comet* is far more than an interesting romance written in the fine literary style that marks the works of this popular imaginative novelist. Indeed, perhaps its chief value lies in its suggestiveness as a social vision, while many readers will be especially interested in the fine psychological study of a phase of life which is frequently found at the present time when grinding poverty produces chronic discontent that is finally rendered acute by crushing disappointment.

As a story the volume fails in convincing quality at the outset by its manifest impossibility. For many readers the element of probability, or at least of possibility, must be present if a story as a romance is to hold their interest. For such persons this novel will prove disappointing, but for the less exacting readers and for those who are deeply interested in social and economic changes that will insure the well-being of all who faithfully labor and strive to succeed, *In the Days of the Comet* will be a novel of real interest and value.

The story opens before the great comet came in contact with the atmosphere of earth and asphyxiated for the time being the inhabitants. It describes England to-day and the struggles, the discontent and the bitterness of the very poor with great vividness and power. The hero has worked himself into that unhappy state of mind where everything arouses feelings of bitterness and hate. He is against society; his thoughts are bitter; and when his

sweetheart jilts him and runs off with the son of a wealthy woman, his reason becomes upset. He purchases a revolver and sets out to slay the seducer of his one-time sweetheart. As he is in the act of shooting, the comet strikes the atmosphere of earth and everyone is rendered unconscious for a time; and, wonderful to relate, when they awaken the divine elements of their natures have been quickened and the baser passions and desires have been subordinated. Instincts of greed, avarice, rapacity, selfishness, envy and hate have given place to good will and the spirit of altruism. This naturally leads to a transformation of society, and with this transformation and how it was brought about the last half of the volume is concerned.

*The Charlatans.* By Bert Leston Taylor. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 392. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is a bright, entertaining novel that will appeal to the general reader as a pleasing story of present-day life. There is something whimsical at times in the author's mood, though the romance for the most part is conventional in treatment and pleasingly natural in its portrayal of life among musical students in a modern city.

The story opens with the heroine, Hope Winston, lost in day-dreams. Her little sister Alice, a lover of fairy tales, has heard of the beautiful Princess and the coming of the Prince. To her Hope is that Princess, and she confidently looks forward to the coming some day of the glorious Prince. Hope meanwhile is longing for a musical education. She has learned what the local teachers could impart, and by accident she has become acquainted with a woman of true culture and fine musical education from the city, and this lady has shown her that the little music she has learned is of small value. She has also played from the masters herself and has so overpowered the sensitive girl with the splendor of the great composers' works that she has completely broken down after hearing some of the grand productions well rendered by the visitor. Later, after the musical friend has returned to the city, Hope receives a number of pieces of great music with instructions as to how to practice. In the course of time opportunities are opened by which the heroine can go to the city, and having received a catalogue from a very pretentious musical institution she matriculates. The Colossus, as

the school is called is a typical quack institution, which through grossly misleading advertisements and a liberal amount of self-pushing, attracts numbers of pupils from the country districts. The principal is not only wanting in musical knowledge, but is also a moral leper,—one of those men who are at once the greatest peril and the greatest curse of society. The experiences of Hope in this large school and among the many friends she meets in and out of the school, are described in a series of bright, well-worded chapters. Among her friends is a strong fine man of broad and ripe culture, a musical critic and a writer of distinction. He becomes the Prince Charming of the story; but long before the happy conclusion of the romance many incidents occur in which light and shadow, tragedy and comedy, are interwoven as threads of gold and sable, and in which the human quality is so strong that the reader will find his interest growing as the story rapidly moves to its climax.

*Stories and Pictures.* By Isaac Loeb Perez. Translated from the Yiddish by Helena Frank. Cloth. Pp. 450. Price, \$1.50. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America.

THIS is the first translation into English of the stories of Perez, the gifted Russian Jew, who through the medium of the Yiddish language has given the world some of the most faithful and telling pictures of Jewish life that have appeared.

Inevitably, perhaps, dealing as they do with the lives of the poor and the down-trodden, all these sketches are depressing, and some of them are tragic to the point of grimness. The author, however, possesses the master-power which enables him to impart to commonplace and even sordid happenings that deep human interest which lifts his work above the plane of mediocrity to that of genius. The stories give realistic pictures of Jewish life and customs in the Old World, but at the same time the reader is made to feel and understand the obscure psychological influences at work among these persecuted and devoted adherents of the orthodox Jewish faith.

Among the more notable tales in these *Stories and Pictures* are "The Seven Candles of Blessing," "What is the Soul?" "In the Dead Town," and "The Messenger."

AMY C. RICH.

*The Incubator Baby.* By Ellis Parker Butler. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 112. Price, 75 cents. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

THIS little book is one of the finest satires of the year. Satire that is free from all suggestion of grossness and the poisoned sting of bitterness is rare in literature, and perhaps never so rare as at the present time; but here we have gentle satire at its best. Certain present-day extremes in the scientific theories of rearing infants, and the popular idea that motherhood does not call for the exercise of the tenderest and most sacred functions—does not, indeed, demand that the mother be a real mother to her offspring, are here charmingly taken off in a manner so droll and amusing as to delight all readers who enjoy that which is truly humorous; while the book does not contain a particle of wormwood nor any evidence of the biting satire that arouses antagonism.

*The Incubator Baby* deals with the life of a wee little mite that is turned over to the tender mercies of an incubator and that later becomes the victim of a scientific committee that seeks to rear it according to theoretically perfect scientific rules. The rebellion of the child and its final victory, which is achieved when the old family-doctor tears up the rules and demands that the baby be turned over to its grandmother, brings the tale to a happy and sensible ending. It is a delightful story and will be enjoyed by old as well as young, though it will be especially pleasing to the little people.

*The Story of Scraggles.* By George Wharton James. Illustrated from drawings and photographs. Cloth. Pp. 88. Price, \$1.00. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

THIS is an exquisite little story written about the little song-sparrow, Scraggles, to which Mr. James dedicated *In and Out of the Old Missions of California*. Scraggles was a little crippled bird that Mr. James rescued and cared for in a tender and loving manner. The little creature returned the affection and showed in a thousand ways how dear were her benefactor, his wife and daughter. The tale appears as if written by the little bird herself in autobiographical form, until near the conclusion of the work, when Mr. James describes her untimely death, her burial and the grief which all the family felt for little Scraggles.



The book is written in the fascinating style of this wizard with words. It is deeply interesting and at the same time it possesses special value in teaching the reader to love his feathered friends and to remember that all life proceeds from the same great Fountain of being and possesses something of Divinity. It will tend to check the wanton taking of the lives of birds, especially by the young and thoughtless ones. This little work would make an ideal holiday or birthday gift for a boy or girl who loves animal life.

*Tannhäuser.* Wagner's Music-Drama re-told in English, by Oliver Huckel. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 80. Price, 75 cents net, postage 8 cents. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

WE KNOW of no writer who has better succeeded in interpreting the spiritual message of Richard Wagner as found in his great music-dramas of "Parsifal," "Lohengrin" and "Tannhäuser," than has Mr. Huckel. The present work is a companion to the preceding works in which "Lohengrin" and "Parsifal" were retold in English, preceded by luminous spiritual interpretations; and like these works, this volume also contains a similar foreword which is a thoughtful essay on the music-drama, in which the author while treating of the poem in a critical and informing manner points out its great ethical lesson. This essay alone is worth more than the price of the work to lovers of the greatest musical genius of the nineteenth century. The story of Tannhäuser as told by Wagner is here retold in noble, smoothly-flowing verse. Some lines possess rare beauty and will linger in the memory as the sweet strains of a fine instrument.

The volume is handsomely gotten up, being tastefully bound in lavender cloth stamped in white and gold.

*Swinburne's Poems.* Selected and edited by Arthur Beatty, Ph.D. Cloth. Pp. 272. Price, 35 cents. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

THIS admirable little volume brings the cream of Swinburne's poems within easy reach of all lovers of poetry, and in a handy-sized volume. The work contains about four-score poems, odes, sonnets, metrical imitations and parodies. The selections are most admirable, embracing a large number of Mr. Swinburne's

best lines. We are glad to find here his noble tribute to Victor Hugo; also his lines on the monument of Giuseppe Mazzini and other of his fine personal tributes. The poems are prefaced by an excellent introductory chapter in which we have a brief but critical discussion of Swinburne's poems.

*The Nature of Capital and Income.* By Irving Fisher, Ph.D., of Yale University. Cloth. Pp. 427. New York: The Macmillan Company.

THIS large octavo of 427 pages has value for students, accountants and promoters, but is of little interest to the average citizen. It enters into the details of questions concerning the nature and source of capital and income, touches upon insurance problems, and deals in a supposedly scientific way with terms used in political economy. We take space for a single illustration of the author's method. He defines capital as a stock of wealth existing at an instant of time. In other words, in the mind of this author, all wealth is capital. This differs from the definition of Henry George, who affirms that capital is wealth in course of exchange,—that is, capital is that portion of wealth which is used to produce more wealth. For example, according to Fisher, the house in which a manufacturer himself lives, is capital; according to George, it is not.

Now these questions of themselves are of little importance. Provided an author uses his terms consistently with his own definition we care little about what that definition is, but when he is not careful to do this, and when in addition we have a variety of definitions by many different authors, we are led in our discussions into endless confusion. For ourselves, we prefer the simple and exact definition of Henry George and his division of the factors of production into labor, land and capital. We believe this work of Professor Fisher's will tend only to add to the general confusion in political science.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

*The Modern Pulpit.* By Lewis O. Brastow, D.D., Professor of Practical Theology, Yale University. Cloth. Price, \$1.50 net. New York: The Macmillan Company.

DR. BRASTOW, always calm, rational, deep-sighted and analytical, is especially so in this

volume. No one can read it without recognizing the influence of the pulpit and coming into a warmer appreciation of the difficulties, duties and greatness of the protestant preaching of the day. With all its shortcomings, its silence on vital issues, its toadyism to power, its failures at times to grasp fundamentals, its tenacious clings to worn-out creeds, the pulpit has nevertheless brought life, hope and peace to many millions, raised the standard of morals, quickened the conscience, and paved the way for many reforms. It has kindled the fire which has consumed many of its own sins.

In *The Modern Pulpit* Dr. Brastow takes a very broad and comprehensive view. He takes up the preparative influences of the eighteenth century, discusses also the prominent influences of the nineteenth century, then brings into view the German, Anglican, Scottish and American pulpits with many concrete examples selected from different denominations.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

*Misère.* By Mabel Wagnalls. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 80. Price, 40 cents. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

THIS is a charming little story of music and music-lovers, written by one who evidently has a deep appreciation of and love for the art. The story is unique in theme and is delightfully told, with many delicate touches; but it is pitched in a minor key throughout. It is one of the popular Hour-Glass Series of tales with which to while away an idle half hour, issued by Messrs. Funk and Wagnalls.

AMY C. RICH.

*The Dragon Painter.* By Mary McNeil Fenollosa. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 262. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

WITH the publication of *The Dragon Painter* the identity of Sidney McCall becomes known, the author being Mrs. Mary McNeil Fenollosa, a Southern lady who has spent much time in Japan and has for years resided in Boston.

*Truth Dexter*, Mrs. Fenollosa's first romance, revealed intimate knowledge of Southern life and of society life in Boston to-day; and the author's second work, *The Breath of the Gods*, showed equally intimate knowledge

of Washington society life and thorough familiarity with the thought, habits, customs and mental outlook of Japanese civilization.

The present volume is a further study of Japanese life. In our judgment *The Dragon Painter* is far inferior as a novel to either *Truth Dexter* or *The Breath of the Gods*. *Truth Dexter* was unquestionably one of the finest romances of American life of recent decades, — a beautiful love-story charmingly depicting the true outlook on life of two entirely different worlds: that of the old aristocratic Southern families, and that of modern society-life in Boston. The heroine of this work is one of the finest creations by a modern American novelist. *The Breath of the Gods* is a powerful novel, far greater in dramatic intensity than *Truth Dexter*. It gives vivid pen-pictures of present-day diplomatic life in Washington and Tokyo, and equally accurate pictures of high life in Japan; but it is so tragic, so gloomy and almost gruesome in its outcome, in so far as the heroine is concerned, that it is not likely to prove as popular as *Truth Dexter*.

*The Dragon Painter* is a finished piece of writing. Indeed, we think it is the author's most artistic literary creation; yet it is not a particularly pleasing story, in spite of the fact that the two central figures are reunited in the end. And, what is a more serious fault, the book lacks the convincing element, at least for Occidental minds. One cannot feel that the characters are real flesh and blood personalities or that the adventures described actually took place. This is not necessarily saying that such things never occurred or that such characters never lived or acted as did those here described; but the element of unreality, for Western minds at least, is so strong that the reader feels throughout much as he feels in reading *The Arabian Nights* or *Alice in Wonderland*. The hero, it seems to us, is a thoroughly impossible character in which the thin partition between genius and insanity seems to be completely broken down most of the time, and it is difficult to enthuse over such a hero; while the other characters are fantastic and unreal in much that they do. The story may be true to certain phases of Japanese life. It may have been on the whole a romance that was actually woven into reality, and yet it is not handled in such a manner as to be convincing. There is much in the life of the Japanese, and especially in the high life of those who cling to the ideals of old Japan, that is very difficult for Americans to

understand and appreciate. Hence it requires a writer of almost transcendent genius to create characters that shall reflect this strange life and its outlook so vividly and humanly as to make the reader feel he is in the presence of real human beings. This we think Mrs. Fenollosa has failed to do in *The Dragon Painter*.

*Jewel Weed.* By Alice Ames Winter. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 434. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS novel is far stronger and finer a romance than the author's former work, *The Prize to the Hardy*. The really well-drawn characters are more numerous, truer and more typical, and there is a fine ethical purpose dominating the romance throughout. It also presents an excellent glimpse of the great municipal struggle now going on in many American cities, where the electorate is slowly awakening to a realization of its moral responsibility and is uniting for the overthrow of the corporation-owned bosses. In this story the author shows how the public-service corporations have their feelers and tentacles reaching throughout the city and how in one way or another they are able to bring many intentionally honest men who become popular representatives, into their toils.

But the chief interest of the romance lies in the dual love-story that runs like a cord of gold and a thread of tinsel through the warp and woof of the romance, and in which we have really masterly studies of two typical young women of the day: the high-minded and conscience-guided woman of feeling, and the beautiful but shallow butterfly nature—the body without a soul. Here are the real and the counterfeit coins; the nature dominated by altruism and moral idealism, and the life wrapped up in self or egoism—the sordid, materialistic existence whose self-absorption closes the eye and ear to the divine symphonies and the glories of the moral order and the unalloyed pleasure that comes to those who recognize the obligations, duties and noble responsibilities that life imposes on all her children. Though not a great novel, this is an excellent love-story written in a bright and pleasing style and very rich in human interest. More than this, it is for the most part true to the life it depicts.

*The Beloved Vagabond.* By William J. Locke.

Cloth. Pp. 303. Price, \$1.50. New York and London: John Lane Company.

IN QUITE a different vein from any of Mr. Locke's former novels is this latest romance from his pen.

*The Beloved Vagabond* is the story of a brilliant but erratic man of genius, half French and half Irish, who gives up his sweetheart in order to save her father from prison. The girl, knowing nothing of the true reason of his desertion and believing him dead, marries a wealthy French count and drags out a miserable existence, after finding out from her husband that her lover is still alive.

In the meantime Paragot, as her lover calls himself, although his true name is Gaston de Nerac, wanders about the world, mingling with all sorts and conditions of men, working at times, then going off wherever his fancy may lead him, but ever falling lower in the social scale. He is always welcome among a certain class of Bohemians because of his ready wit and keen intellect, but he has allowed his fine native gifts to be choked out by his mode of life.

At the time the story opens he has adopted a little London gutter-snipe whom he whimsically renames Asticot, which means the little grey worms which French fishermen call "gentles." Together they roam over half Europe, and their adventures as related by Asticot make up most of the story.

In time the French count dies, and Paragot is given the opportunity once more to reinstate himself in his former place in society. For a time he and the countess imagine that they still love each other as in the old days, but the time comes when they realize that what they love is their memory of the past. The outcome of the story is quite out of the ordinary.

AMY C. RICH.

*Rich Men's Children.* By Geraldine Bonner. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 492. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS novel by the gifted author of *To-morrow's Tangle* is one of the strongest romances of the year. It chiefly concerns the fate of the children of two of California's multimillionaires. The parents of the hero and heroine were poor day-workers in the old mining days, but they discovered some of nature's hoarded wealth imprisoned in the Sierras, which made them millionaires.

Dominick Ryan, the hero and son of one of these rich men, falls a victim to the wiles of an adventuress, but not suspecting the early history of his wife, remains true to her, though exiled from his family and while his wife makes a hell on earth for the husband. Finally in despair he runs away from home, goes up the mountains and is snow-bound in a hotel with several other travelers, among whom are Bill Cannon the bonanza king and his beautiful daughter, Rose. The young people are necessarily thrown together, till each falls in love with the other; but the girl, though under the spell of love, has too much of the old Puritan spirit to be willing for Dominick to seek to gain a divorce, seeming to think it better for him and his wife to spend a life of hate and discord together than for them to be separated, even though Dominick's mother is ready to pay the adventuress wife a quarter of a million dollars if she will acquiesce in a divorce. At the moment when all seems darkest for Rose Cannon and Dominick Ryan, the former husband of Dominick's wife appears on the scene and thus the barriers are swept away that separated the young lovers.

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*In Clive's Command.* By Herbert Strang. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 450. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is the best boys' story we have read in months. The publishers announce in sending out the book, that Mr. Strang is a successor to G. A. Henty. This we think is a gross injustice to the author of *In Clive's Command*, as Mr. Strang's book is as far superior to Henty's as are the novels of Dickens, Scott and Bulwer superior to the stories of Mary J. Holmes or Laura Jean Libbey. Mr. Strang has imagination of a high order, which was singularly absent in Henty's stories. He has been true to the historic demands while writing a story that palpitates with action and whose characters are real, live personalities, and not manikins, such as were

Henty's. The latter author seemed to us to take some great historic passage and then introduce one or two boys. The history was told in a fairly accurate manner, but without that imaginative power that invests history with realism. Not so with Mr. Strang. In the present book he has given us a vivid picture of real life that cannot fail to delight boys, while their interest will be so quickened in the history of Clive and his wonderful achievements that the more thoughtful ones will not rest content until they have learned of the great campaigns from the histories. A pretty love romance runs through the tale, adding to its interest, while it abounds in exciting and dramatic situations.

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*Romance Island.* By Zona Gale. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 394. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

*Romance Island* is well named. Those who have enjoyed Miss Gale's quaint and thoroughly delightful stories of Pelleas and Ettarre which have appeared in *The Outlook* and other magazines during the past year, will, I fear, be disappointed in the present volume, which is as wildly improbable a tale of mystery and adventure as even Mr. Max Pemberton could produce. It deals with the adventures of some New York newspaper men who become involved in the search for the missing American king of a mysterious island located somewhere in the Southern Pacific,—an island which lies in the fourth dimension and whose people possess all the lost knowledge of the ancient Phœnicians and have solved the vexed problems of aerial navigation and eternal youth. The story is thrillingly exciting from cover to cover and there is a delightful love romance running through it which terminates most happily. Those readers who do not demand the element of probability, or even of possibility, in their novels, will enjoy *Romance Island*.

AMY C. RICH.



## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

**THE RAILROAD QUESTION IN "THE ARENA":** Next to Direct-Legislation there is no great vital question before the American people more important to pure government and popular rule, that is pressing for immediate solution, than the railroad question. For the past thirty years the railways have been the most sinister influence in our national life, the chief source of governmental corruption and the strong arm of the robber trusts and monopolies. THE ARENA for the ensuing year will make this overshadowing question the subject of special examination. The series of papers on the railways in foreign lands, prepared expressly for this journal by Professor FRANK PARSONS, will, we believe, be the most important discussions of this character that will appear in any review. Those who wish a fuller and more exhaustive treatment of the same subject should not fail to procure Dr. PARSONS' latest and greatest work, *The Railways, the Trusts and the People*, published by Dr. C. F. TAYLOR, of 1520 Chestnut street, Philadelphia. The paper which we present this month epitomizes the facts amplified in this work and treats them in a popular manner suitable to a magazine article. This paper also embraces the observations of Professor PARSONS on the railways of Switzerland as he found them from his personal investigations made in Switzerland during the past summer. Besides this discussion of the railways of Switzerland, the present issue of THE ARENA contains an extremely valuable contribution by Messrs. GRUHL and ROBINSON, entitled *Is Railroad Rate-Regulation a Step to Government-Ownership?* It embraces the opinions of a number of our leading statesmen, educators, lawyers and railway managers on the question, among whom are Mr. BRYAN, President ROOSEVELT, Senator LA FOLLETTE, Governor CUMMINS, RICHARD OLNEY, President HADLEY and Professor ELY. This contribution represents a vast amount of careful labor and painstaking research and is one of the papers that thinking men after reading will wish to file away for future reference.

**Governor Folk of Missouri:** In our series of papers on leading representative statesmen of progressive democracy we this month present an admirable paper by the gifted writer and able statesman and lawyer, Hon. THOMAS SPEED MOSBY, Pardon-Attorney for the State of Missouri. Mr. MOSBY knows Governor FOLK intimately and has presented a fine pen-picture of the man and his ideals and purposes.

**Child-Labor:** This contribution by ELINOR H. STOR is of special excellence and should be carefully read by every parent in the land. A great sin is being committed, a crime against democracy, against the state of to-day and the nation of to-mor-

row, and the victims of this crime are the helpless little ones that it is the sacred function of the Republic to guard, protect and in every way possible help to educate and to develop, body, brain and soul, in order that they may live the life the Creator intended they should live and that the state may be great in the coming days through her wealth of robust, clean-souled, strong-minded men and women. Our author treats the subject with great ability and the paper is a mine of information lighted up with that moral idealism that vitalizes the really strong work of civilization and progress.

**The Emerson Society of Boston:** We take pleasure in calling the attention of our readers who dwell in New England to the announcements of the Emerson Society of Boston for the coming winter. The meetings will be held in the lecture-room of the Public Library, Copley Square, Boston, on Wednesday afternoons at three o'clock, beginning with the first Wednesday in December, 1906. The interpretations of Emerson will usually be made by Mr. CHARLES MALLOY of Waltham, so well known to readers of THE ARENA on account of his extremely able interpretations of EMERSON'S poetry that have appeared in this review. Other speakers will occasionally be heard. Mr. FRANK B. SANBORN of Concord will give several papers during the winter, one on *Emerson and Whitman*, another on *Thoreau and Emerson*, based on the recent publication of the journals of THOREAU, and a third on *Emerson and His Concord Neighbors*. Members are at liberty to join the society at any time and can do so by giving their names to the secretary, Miss E. L. NICKERSON, Riverbank Court, Cambridge, Massachusetts. The membership-fee is one dollar a year and there is no admission-fee to the lectures at the Library.

**Our Vanishing Liberty of the Press:** We doubt whether there is any more important paper in this issue of THE ARENA than the deeply thoughtful contribution from the pen of Mr. THEODORE SCHROEDER, one of our associate editors, on *Our Vanishing Liberty of the Press*. Never in the history of our nation has free government more urgently called for strong, clear-visioned thinkers who possess the power to reason closely and logically; who are endowed with that clarity of intellectual vision that enables one to distinguish between the fundamental principles involved and the superficial aspects of the issue, and with that supreme courage which unhesitatingly takes a stand with right against, if needs be, the whole world. And perhaps the most inspiring sign of the hour is the increasing number of strong, virile and fundamental thinkers in our midst who are awakening the nation from the Stygian slumber into which reaction, prejudice and privilege have lulled it. In THEODORE SCHROEDER

America has a fine type of this new school of thinkers who are calling the nation back to the old highway of freedom marked out by the fathers of the Republic.

*Broad Aspects of Race-Suicide:* Not since the recent general discussion of race-suicide was inaugurated, largely by virtue of President ROOSEVELT's stand on the question, has so deeply thoughtful or broadly philosophic and statesmanlike a paper appeared on this question as that which we present in this issue of THE ARENA from the pen of FRANK T. CARLTON. This discussion is so deeply thoughtful, so rich in suggestive facts and so instinct with truths that every thoughtful man and woman should ponder over, that it merits the widest possible circulation.

*Professor Noa on William Wheelwright:* The life of Mr. WHEELWRIGHT more than that of any other of the great master-builders of South America, holds interest for American readers, as WHEELWRIGHT was a Massachusetts lad who went to South America and by his genius, pluck and perseverance became the father of the commercial and industrial prosperity of the Latin Republics with which he was associated. Our readers who have for months enjoyed Professor NOA's pleasing and instructive papers on the great men and historical events of Latin America will be pleased to learn that this talented writer and scholar has just accepted an important editorial position on the staff of the two important and beautifully gotten-up illustrated magazines, *Latin America* and *Las Republicas Americanas*. These periodicals, one of which is published in English and the other in Spanish, deal with Latin America in a most instructive and interesting manner. They are handsomely illustrated and published at two dollars a year net for either magazine.

*Our Stories:* This month we publish two delightful short stories. One entitled *The Bishop's Ordination*, by GISELA DITTRICK BRITT, will, we are sure, appeal to all our readers; while *Nude Lips* is one of Mr. CARMAN's most clever little stories, mildly satirical in character and hitting off in an admirable manner the exaggerated prudery of Mr.

COMSTOCK and like would-be censors of public morals, who seem to find evil where most persons see only beauty.

*William Morris and Esthetic Socialism:* In Mr. DICKINSON's paper on *William Morris and Esthetic Socialism* we have one of the most interesting, thoughtful and unhackneyed views of the Socialistic ideals that has appeared in recent magazine literature. To the student of social and economic advance nothing is more striking than the number of noble minds, from before the days of Sir THOMAS MORE, that have been strongly drawn to the ideals of a Socialistic state,—a state in which the master-ideal should be brotherhood and in which the interests of each should be the master-concern of all. As MARK and LIEBKNECHT approached the subject as philosophers and scientists, we find KINGSLEY, FREDERICK MAURICE and other noble Christian scholars advocating the Socialistic ideals from the view-point of the great Prophet of Galilee. They appealed to VICTOR HUGO's sense of justice no less than to his esthetic and idealistic impulses; while to WILLIAM MORRIS the artistic ideal seemed to exert the master-spell. Mr. DICKINSON's paper will appeal to all thoughtful men and women who are sufficiently broad to desire to understand all view-points of the great living issues of the hour.

*Church and State in France:* In Mr. ROMIEUX's paper on *Church and State in France* we have a timely historical survey of this question which at the present time is, and doubtless for some months if not years to come will be, a leading issue in French political life.

*Note:* Because of the miscarriage of a package sent from our publication office to an engraving house in New York City, by the Adams Express Company, we are prevented this month from giving our usual department "Politics, The People and The Trusts as Seen by Cartoonists." We are unable to ascertain just why this miscarriage should have happened, because the Adams Express Company has not seen fit, up to this writing—sixteen days after shipment was made—to pay the slightest attention to our vigorous complaints—except to tell us orally that they "would look into it" and that "no trace of the package could be found."

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